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THE  
LATER COURT HANDS  
IN ENGLAND



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THE  
LATER COURT HANDS  
IN ENGLAND

FROM THE FIFTEENTH TO THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Illustrated from

*The Common Paper  
of the Scriveners' Company of London,  
the English Writing Masters  
& the Public Records*

BY

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## P R E F A C E

THE DUAL object of this book is to provide the essential minimum of apparatus for a student desiring to master the writings used in English business documents (Archives, in fact) of the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and at the same time to settle the classification and sketch the history of the nine or ten distinct varieties of writing which existed side by side in England at the zenith of that period. The method adopted and the three main sources upon which I have drawn for illustration are set out in the *Introduction* (below, pp. 3-7) and the following section (pp. 8-17): but no one can be more conscious than I of the vastness of the ground I have undertaken to cover in a single book and perhaps I may usefully emphasize here the following points as a guide to the reader.

Judging by my own experience in teaching I have thought it necessary to include (pp. 18-32) brief outlines of a number of subjects not strictly palaeographical yet intimately concerned with the reading of documents in *Court Hand*—the Materials used, the Forms and Classification of Documents, the Languages and so forth: it is useless, for example, to give a student the facsimile of a document in medieval French without at least some note as to authorities on the linguistic side.

On the same ground of practical experience I have insisted somewhat (pp. 8 and 10) on the importance of Currency and Penmanship in the development of the *Court Hands*; and this has led to a section (pp. 33-39) with rather unusual illustrations, designed to shew, not the appearance of the letters when finished, but the way in which they were made.

The Arrangement of the Sections (pp. 47-78) which deal with the actual writings\* is governed by the fact that the *Court Hand* of the late fourteenth century (here called *Bastard*) had, as it were, two families: it first produced the ordinary small hands of the fifteenth century (pp. 52-56) which in turn produced the ordinary small (*Secretary*) hands of the sixteenth century (pp. 57-62), which in their turn mixed gradually with the imported Italian hands to produce our modern round hand (pp. 63-67): and then, late in the fifteenth century, it gave birth to a series of large *Special Hands* (pp. 68-75) whose use was confined to

\* Subsidiary palaeographical topics, such as *Numerals*, *Abbreviations*, *Punctuation*, *Signatures* and *Personal Marks*, *Decoration*, etc., have been treated in separate sections (pp. 40-46 and 84-108).

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## PREFACE

certain particular sections of public and private business in this country: itself surviving, almost unaltered, to a late date in the sixteenth century. The relationship of all these hands is given in the form of a genealogical table on p. 79.

The Arrangement of the Plates and Alphabets—which have been left unbound for convenience of comparison—is partly palaeographical (because all these distinct varieties of writing must be separately described and illustrated) and partly chronological (because the first 21 Plates are drawn in chronological sequence from a single source): but an appendix (p. 120) shews the chronological arrangement of all the writings exhibited in our Plates, another (pp. 116–119) groups all the documents used in illustration according to their administrative provenance, and the palaeographical situation of each is given by lists prefixed to the various palaeographical sections.

In conclusion I would draw special attention to the remarks on Transcription, particularly in relation to the extension of Abbreviations in the present work and to the rendering of Capitals and Punctuation (p. 122: see also p. 100); to those upon the Languages used in the documents selected for reproduction (p. 28); and to the notes prefixed to the Bibliographical Summary (p. 113) and the Index.

It remains to acknowledge a large amount of kindness and help. My colleagues at the Public Record Office and other friends have during the past twelve years given me notes and illustrations too numerous for individual mention save in a few cases—I must hope that they will accept this general expression of gratitude: and I have never worked at the British Museum without being in debt to the kindness of my friends in the Departments of Printed Books and of Manuscripts. My special obligations to the Worshipful Company of Scriveners and to Mr A. J. Fairbank are recorded separately (pp. 4, 11 and 33). My wife has contributed much help in analysis, transcription, indexing and proof-reading. My colleague Mr Charles Johnson has done me the great service of reading all the proofs of Part I and making many valuable suggestions. Finally I must not omit the thanks due to the patience and skill of all who have had to deal with this work at the Cambridge University Press and to the pains taken by my Photographers, Messrs Monger and Marchant.

HILARY JENKINSON



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# PART I





# I

## INTRODUCTION

OBJECTS OF THIS BOOK. It is almost a common-place to say that in our time History, in all its departments, is being re-constructed from Manuscript, and particularly from Archive, sources. In this re-construction every advanced student of history desires to take a part; and since the exploitable material is almost unbounded the conditions of Training and Examination are being more and more re-modelled in order to enable and encourage him to do so.

A necessary preliminary to such work is the study of the hand-writings, in particular the business hand-writings, of the past: and as a text-book for this study Mr Charles Johnson with the present writer published, twelve years ago, *Court Hand Illustrated*.<sup>\*</sup> That work took the history and illustration of English business hands up to the year 1500—the date usually fixed for convenience as terminating the medieval period.

Unfortunately the difficulties of these hands do not cease at that point: not till we reach, almost, the year 1700 can we begin to think of introducing a student to research in Manuscripts upon the basis only of his knowledge of modern scripts; and even among documents of that date there are some which will baffle him. The present work is designed, then, primarily as a continuation of *Court Hand Illustrated* up to a point where special study of the hand-writings of the past, though it may still be interesting, ceases to be essential.

It will be observed that we have said *continuation*; and it remains a fact, even though a student may propose to use no document of earlier date than the seventeenth century, that the proper starting-point for his study of hand-writings is the Caroline Minuscule (a script corresponding roughly with the ‘Roman lower case’ in which these words are printed) which, in an English modification, may be seen in *Domesday* and from which by a continuous process of development the current hands of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were evolved. It is true<sup>†</sup> that during the eleventh and twelfth centuries a recrudescence of the angular ‘Insular’ style almost swamped the Caroline: but the influence of the latter was never completely ousted; and since it was the first of three attempts (the second of which marked the end of the medieval period, while the third is active in our elementary schools to-day) to reform hand-writing upon the same model, its suitability as a point of departure is unquestionable.

<sup>\*</sup> Clarendon Press, 1915.

<sup>†</sup> As Dr James has suggested (*Cambridge Medieval History*, III, p. 517).

## INTRODUCTION

In spite of this it is not actually impossible for a student who proposes to work on sixteenth century writings to start his preparation at a development later than *Domesday*. It is part of the work of this Book to point out that a notable settling of letter-forms occurred at the end of the fourteenth century in England and elsewhere and that subsequent developments sprang largely from certain conventions which then won more or less general acceptance. It should therefore be possible also for the student whose available time, as too often occurs, is restricted to find in this treatise, if it fulfils its purpose, a sufficient, though not the most complete, introduction to the use of sixteenth or seventeenth century writings.

The provision of this introduction, however, is not my sole object. In *Court Hand Illustrated*\* we avoided deliberately any attempt at a purely palaeographical treatment; and in particular did not try to trace the emergence of certain special hands, used for special purposes, the presence of which was very obvious among our later plates. But these hands all came to their full development during the period now under examination: and I have felt obliged therefore to attempt some classification of them and some account of their history.†

THE COMMON PAPER OF THE SCRIVENERS' COMPANY OF LONDON. I have been much helped by having access‡ to this invaluable record. I hope to deal elsewhere with some of its historical and antiquarian features: here it must suffice to say that it is a book consisting of a number of gatherings of paper of different ages and marks; that it contains copies of Ordinances for the Government of the Company made at various times, lists of Apprentices and other Memoranda; and that in particular, from 1390§ until 1628 (when a new volume was apparently begun), every Member received into the Company|| entered in it, in his own hand, his name and his acceptance of the Company's rules. The Book thus gives us a long series of examples, of unquestionable authenticity, of the writings of known individuals, nearly all professional scriveners, each writing, at a similar stage in his professional career, approximately the same thing; a collection if not unique at

\* See the preface of that work.

† A preliminary sketch for this was published in *The Library* for June 1922: but certain views suggested there have been modified by fuller study.

‡ By permission of the Court and through arrangements most kindly made for me with that Body by Mr A. A. Pitcairn. Parts of the *Paper* were freely used in the *Report* (1884) of the Royal Commission on the City Livery Companies and it also served the late

Dr Edwin Freshfield for a paper on *Notarial Marks* (*Archaeologia*, LIV (ii.), p. 239). A work on the same subject by Bishop G. F. Browne (an Appendix to his *Echt-Forbes Family Charters*: London and Edinburgh, 1923) first called my attention to its existence.

§ Under an Ordinance of that date; when the Company was completely re-organized.

|| With only very occasional exceptions, due presumably to special circumstances.



## INTRODUCTION

least of extreme rarity and for us, covering as it does exactly our period, of extraordinary value. A notable point is that the writers normally describe themselves as Writers of the Court Letter (*Littere Curialis*). This, with the diversity of styles shewn in their hands, serves to fix the meaning of that phrase as a general description covering all hands save the *Text* or *Book Hands*—the writings reserved for what would now be printed books.\* The point is important because in the eighteenth century *Court Hand* came to be used only of Legal Hands. For our period and in this Book it is to be taken as covering the writing of the ordinary business man and all the special writings used in special kinds of business.

WRITING IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. In approaching the post-medieval hand-writings we not only approach a new subject: we approach from a new angle. We are dealing now with a period distinguished by a marked development of Continental relations; one in which Education ran in new channels,† and in which the use of writing by all and sundry for their individual purposes becomes for the first time noticeable in this country—witness the Paston, Cely and Stonor Letters; one in which the Vernacular, in written form, first comes by its own; a period fruitful in new forms of Administration, of Document and of Lettering: it is a period, finally, in which Hand-writing and all the sides of life in which Hand-writing plays a part are profoundly influenced by the invention of Printing.

Two other points particularly affecting our subject. First it is worth emphasizing that the same generation saw both the greatest elaboration of the business hands which this and other countries produced in the course of the middle ages and the importation into England of those re-modelled hands, fashioned by the new learning in Italy, which were the point of departure for a development that has lasted down to our own day. An even more important thing is that in the fifteenth century‡ (in England the late fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries) business hand-writing became (for the first time, so far as we know) self-conscious. If we wish to define the classes of current hands to be found earlier than this we must do it arbitrarily; the writers of the scripts we classify knew little of our divisions and would have been puzzled by most of our nomenclature: but it is very different when we come to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; there we find numerous varieties of hand carefully distinguished, sometimes even labelled with their names,

\* See the SURVEY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF CURRENT HANDS in the next section. This use of the words *Court Hand* corresponds with that adopted in *Court Hand Illustrated*.

† To take one very obvious example, the transition from the oral to the written method in teaching belongs to the sixteenth century.

‡ For an early French example see below, p. 47.

## INTRODUCTION

and taught by a new generation of Writing Masters whose invaluable printed Copy Books enable us for the first time to examine their art from the point of view of the contemporary practitioner; and to work backwards from the highest level attained by various schools of writing to their often obscure origin.

METHODS OF STUDY. In planning this work I have taken the *Common Paper* (represented here by 21 plates shewing the writings of 80 individuals, not counting those who wrote occasional notes) as a basis for some idea of the general development of ordinary current hands during the period. In addition we get, as will be seen, occasional glimpses among our Scriveners of the *Special Set Hands*,\* and a great deal of the *Secretary Hand* in its various manifestations. For these, however, I have gone primarily to the English Writing Masters' Books and particularly to the first, Baildon's (1571); combining with this an examination of the Records for which these writings were used at about the same date.

Remain the tracing of the special *Set Hands* back to their origin, the illustration of the hands seen in the *Common Paper* as they appear elsewhere (also their appearance when written with the greatest freedom or carelessness) and the exemplification of the largest possible number of forms of document. These four requirements I have tried to meet in a further 23 plates and a number of line-blocks, drawn for convenience almost entirely from the Public Record Office, in which repository nearly every known† form of English business document, public or private, may, for one reason or another, be found. I have made the selection as wide as space and conflicting interests permitted.

LIMITATIONS. In attempting to cover so much ground I am, of course, very well aware that I cannot hope to reach finality. Even if I am successful in establishing a Classification, with its accompanying Nomenclature (of which more later), the History and Illustration of the writings which will be given here will still be only summary: for to trace the History fully would require the examination of many more scores of thousands of documents, both in England and abroad, than probably any one person, certainly any one book, could attempt; and to illustrate them fully would mean an impossible number of plates. I have not even felt justified in devoting so large a proportion of my plates as I should have liked to the illustration of certain hands which, palaeographically, are the most curious; because it is my primary object to provide an adequate field of exercise for the student of

\* See below, §§ 11 and xvi.

and even of these a considerable number may be found in the Chancery Lane repository.

† The chief exceptions are the Ecclesiastical forms



## INTRODUCTION

hands and documents less interesting, perhaps, in themselves but of far more frequent occurrence; and for a like reason I have not attempted to meet particularly the demand for interesting autographs.\* I have attempted no special treatment of Ecclesiastical developments: and my examination of foreign sources (though I do not underrate their importance, particularly in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries†) has been only superficial. I have in fact tried only to provide an outline which I hope may gradually be filled in by the experience of many workers in many fields: this book is frankly, from a palaeographical point of view, introductory; dealing with certain English developments on their merits and with general palaeographical questions only in so far as they directly touch those developments.‡

\* On the literary side this is fortunately being met largely by the publication of Dr W. W. Greg's facsimiles: see below, p. 29.

† A comparative study of the current hands in different European countries would be valuable: but much study on national lines must come first.

‡ It may be convenient, however, to the student to have here a few references to general authorities and bibliographies (unfortunately no really complete bibliography of Palaeography exists). The best hand-books are Prou, M., *Manuel de Paléographie*...: Paris,

1910; Steffens, F., *Paléographie Latine*: French ed., Paris and Treves, 1908-10; and Thompson, Sir E. M., *An Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography*: Clarendon Press, 1912. The first and third contain convenient lists of books. A handy list of the more important Publications containing facsimiles will be found in Institute of Historical Research, *Bulletin*, No. 2, 1923, p. 54: *A Catalogue of Works dealing with Western Palaeography*, published by the University of London in 1921, and Nélis, H., *L'Écriture et les Scribes*, Brussels, 1918, are also useful.

## II

### SURVEY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF CURRENT HANDS IN ENGLAND

CURRENCY. The attempt to write the strokes forming a given letter, or series of letters, *currente calamo*, without lifting the pen, is more than anything else responsible for the development of new varieties of writing. This currency may be either internal, affecting only the arrangement of the separate strokes which go to form a separate letter, or external, affecting a letter-form through its relations with its neighbours.

An example may make this plain. Long before our period the minuscule *e* had been formed by currency out of the majuscule *E*, a letter composed of three horizontal lines joined at their left ends to a vertical one: currency made first the vertical and the lowest horizontal in one action thus **L**: it then added the two upper horizontals, again in one action; this necessitated the addition of a diagonal stroke joining them in a kind of *z* form, thus **z**: and the *e* of *Domesday* is a two-action letter of this type **E**.

Further development by currency will be in the direction of producing a single-action letter and here external influence comes in. If we make, say, an *u* and then endeavour to join on to it, without lifting the pen, as much as possible of the *e* shewn above we shall probably proceed to make, continuously, first the two upper limbs of the *z* part and then (still currently) what was originally the first part of the letter, the vertical with the lowest of the three horizontals; producing this effect **ue**. Remains the final stroke of the *z* portion of our early minuscule *e* and the conscientious scribe will take his pen off to add this separately: **ue**. The less scrupulous will let his pen travel on, adding a stroke to the letter which is no part of its original form, and produce **ue**. Then by a final effort of external currency we shall have this letter tied to its right-hand neighbour and get this **ueu**. The most current Elizabethan form of this curious, but highly popular, *e* is **ſ**: but more polished writers make it **o** and from this, by a last effort of formalism, it is turned back to an un-current, two-piece form **C**.

I have dealt with this matter in some detail because currency is a force with infinite possibilities of individual development; and it is important that the student should realize that in a really current hand forms not to be found in any text-book may conceivably occur at any moment; though in practice this does not often happen.



FASHIONS AND CONVENTIONS. It is not to be supposed that development by currency was necessarily continuous: a form might quite well reach a certain stage of development, remain stationary for perhaps a considerable time and then start again to change. Nor are we to suppose that currency, though it was the chief, was the only agent of change, even in hands most pronouncedly current. We have to allow always for the effect of fashion.

Not only did this operate in the direction of keeping a hand stationary for no reason that we can see; it also played tricks with individual letters, prescribing that such and such a form should be relegated to use in such and such a position, even confining particular forms to particular types of document. What is more to our purpose, it sometimes made of a quite unessential tie-stroke, or even of an entirely otiose decoration, a convention so hard that the current writer would presently incorporate it in his letter-form as though it were original and essential. Thus the thirteenth century enrolment clerk will go out of his way to prolong the end of his  $h$  in a half-circle in order to insert a meaningless floreaton at the beginning of the letter  $\text{H}$ . Similarly the fifteenth century mannerism of an angle  $\prec$  in what should be a round or straight back will be reproduced by the current writer thus  $\prec$ . Most remarkable of all is the effect of the twelfth century adornment of many capital letters (such as  $T$ ) with otiose vertical strokes, thus  $\text{T}$ . These are faithfully reproduced by the current writers for centuries, the fifteenth and sixteenth century  $T$ , for example, being often made thus  $\text{T}$ . This importation into the letter of strokes which have nothing to do with its original form is a fruitful source of error and confusion; as may be observed by comparing, for example, the current  $h$  drawn above with a common form of  $G$   $\text{G}$ : it will be observed that the direction of the pen is the same in both.

The last remark may suitably lead on to the subject of

DECADENCE IN WRITING. We shall have occasion from time to time to criticize the standard of writing shewn in various hands. This is a difficult matter because it is to a certain extent a question of taste: some scribes, for instance, might quarrel with the dictum that until the sixteenth century no script can be reckoned good which shews long strokes that are not vertical to the line of writing; or that departure from the Roman form of capitals is in general an indication of decadence.

As a guide to judgment we may perhaps suggest that irregularity—*i.e.* the appearance of the same, or even of similar, strokes with varying lengths or inclined at varying angles to the horizontal in a single piece of writing—is a bad sign: the same may be said of vertical strokes which are neither thick nor thin—which taper; but here we are getting on to the subject of penmanship: and of exaggeration in the length of long strokes as compared with the short—but here we are on a question of taste. A safer test is the occurrence of different letters made with the same action of the pen: it is a bad hand in which the pen goes through the same motion in order to make (for example) *a*, *e*, *o*, *c* and even *i* and *r*.

At the same time it must be remembered that a good writer, using forms which have been handed on to him by convention, may produce a fine writing: the sixteenth century *Chancery Hand* in England furnishes an example; it is good, even beautiful, writing, though the forms of many of the letters are bad.

PENMANSHIP. The truth is that good or bad writing depends much more than palaeographers in general seem to have observed upon the technique behind it: because the *Chancery Hand* of the sixteenth century was written by skilled practitioners, who (by what accident we do not know) had stumbled on a good technique, this hand became good and fine; and on the other hand it was because the beautiful *Italic* script of the same period came to be written with a pen wrongly shaped and wrongly held that it degenerated into the modern *Round Hand*. The determining factors in the craft of writing (apart from natural aptitude in the scrivener and the character of the writing materials\*) are the angle at which the nib of the pen is cut, the angle of the pen to the plane of the paper or parchment, the angle of the pen to a horizontal line drawn on the paper or parchment, the way in which the pen is held and (a corollary of this) the absence or presence of a varying pressure from the forefinger. When we find that several of the English Writing Masters recommend two different techniques for the writing of the *Italic* and the *Secretary* respectively, and when we further observe that both of these are almost certainly different from the practice of the twelfth century, we begin to see the extent to which *Penmanship* may have influenced the development of writing. We may add that while it is often not easy to estimate exactly the angles at which the pen was cut and held respectively it is generally quite easy to measure the actual angle of the pen to a

\* These do not greatly affect us: in other departments of Palaeography the question of materials may, of course, be all-important; incised writing on stone,

for example, should not be criticized in terms of penmanship; but they are sometimes important when one is dealing with local forms: cp. below, p. 89.



horizontal line on the paper, resulting from the combination\* of the two, in any given case. Note in the annexed diagram how one nib cut straight and another cut obliquely may, by a different hold, be made to produce the same pen-angle. We shall have occasion to mention this matter of penmanship again in dealing more particularly† with the various hands: but it may be well to say here that in the best period of penmanship a combination of angles in the cutting of the nib,‡ in the holding of the pen and in the placing of the paper or parchment produces a writing in which the purely vertical strokes (which, by the way, are always down-strokes) are the thickest of which the nib is capable without any extra pressure from the forefinger, while diagonals running *upwards* from left to right (at an angle of  $45^{\circ}$  to the vertical) get the effect of the nib at its thinnest: neither of these (the vertical nor the diagonal) shews any sign of tapering; that can occur only in curved strokes running diagonally from left to right, *downwards*. Departure, in one respect or another, from this technique is to be seen in most of the hands we shall examine; its influence was not the less marked for being (as it probably was at least in early times) quite unconscious.



It remains to mention a topic closely related to those we have been discussing, but quite distinct from them; that of

STYLE IN WRITING. The word *style* is difficult to define but I use it to indicate the general appearance of a piece of writing, or more often of a series of pieces of writing. Style is frequently conditioned by the formation of certain letters; yet it is not dependent on this, for two writers using quite different letter-forms may write in the same style: it is largely indebted to the technique of penmanship; but

\* This result of the angles of holding and cutting combined will be referred to as *pen-angle* throughout.

† I have been indebted to an accomplished scrivener, Mr A. J. Fairbank, for a number of experiments in the reproduction of writings shewn in facsimile in the present work and for valuable notes upon these: he was also good enough to draw for me the illustrations used in § VII below. For the whole subject of modern Calligraphy see Johnston, E., *Writing and Illuminating and Lettering*: 2nd ed., 1908—a most suggestive book.

‡ The old rule for this is quoted by Brown, D., ...*Calligraphia* (St Andrews, 1622), in a Latin Hexameter *Dextera pars penne leuior, breuior debet esse*: i.e. of the two parts on each side of the split, the right-hand one was narrower and shorter: the second of these

*desiderata* is very important for it means that the point was to be cut obliquely across (downwards from left to right, as one looks at the upper side of the nib); *not* obliquely down from right to left nor yet straight across as in the usual modern pen. See the right-hand example in the illustration of two pens given above. For evidence of the attention paid by Writing Masters of the seventeenth century to this point of technique and their realization that different thicknesses of stroke should be obtained by position and direction of the pen rather than by pressure see the very elaborate plate in George Shelley's *Natural Writing in all the Hands* (1709); and some other authorities cited below, p. 64. On the other hand some of them deliberately used pen-pressure.

not wholly, for a writer may imitate (badly) a style with his pen wrongly cut and wrongly held. It is, in short, the whole effect produced by a combination of the letter-forms employed, the penmanship of the writer and the conventions he follows in the matters of materials used, size and proportions of letters, rulings, margins and every small circumstance of writing: and it is particularly important in a period when the actual letter-forms, as we have seen, might remain comparatively unaltered for a very long time. We shall be concerned with it chiefly where a school of writers, all practising the same writing habits, has produced one of the *Set Hands* described below: a hand which, while clearly distinguishable from the hands of other schools, may yet resemble them (even closely) in this or that particular.

FROM THE TWELFTH CENTURY TO THE FOURTEENTH. Development in this period is marked first by completion of the separation between the two great classes of hand-writing; that is, between the business hands, in which we are interested, and the *Text Hands* used for aesthetic, scientific or religious purposes, for liturgical or literary works or treatises—for what, in fact, would now be printed books: this is not to say that the treatise-writer may not on occasion drop into a less formal hand, but that after the twelfth century we do not (except in headings) find *Text* used for business purposes. Next we find, in the business hands, a widening gap between what I shall call the *Set* and the *Free Hands*; between writing, on the one hand, as it ought to be and as it was taught, the writing of ceremony and of the Copy Books, and, on the other hand, writing as it was practised by a large and growing class who made their living by it and prized most highly, of all the gifts of penmanship, rapidity. We shall refer to this again:\* for the moment the fundamental fact is that, so far as England is concerned, the habit of enrolling, or registering, of keeping accounts and of keeping memoranda of proceedings, not only in the Royal administrative offices but in countless Private Households and Courts all over the country, was the main agent in developing the *Free Hands*; and that this habit was well established, though still growing, soon after 1200.†

\* §§ vi and xix below.

† The great English series of *Plea Rolls* begin with the reign of Richard I, the Chancery Enrolments (*Charter, Patent, Close, Liberate* and *Fine Rolls*) with John: the more stately Exchequer Enrolments date from the twelfth century but the less formal *Receipt* and *Issue Rolls* and *Memoranda Rolls* again start, as regular series, with John's reign. Our earliest surviving private *Court Rolls* date from the reign of

Henry III. This list might be prolonged. For examples in facsimile of various series see *Court Hand Illustrated*, Plates iv (a), ix (a), x (a), xiii (a), xv, xvii (b), xviii (a) and (b), xx (b), xxii (a), etc., and for a note on the large number of hands which may, at a quite early date, contribute to a single small series of documents see my *Palaeography and the Practical Study of Court Hand* (Cambridge, 1915) and its illustrations drawn from a *Subsidy Assessment* of 1225.



The student who wishes to have an illustration of the difference between the *Set* and the *Free Hands* cannot do better than to select an original Royal Charter of the reign of King John and contrast it with its copy on the *Charter Roll*. He will find, of course, a great deal more decoration in the *Set Hand* and it is in general, at this date, more than twice the size of the *Free*: he will also find much more of what I have called regularity in the comparative length, thickness and verticality of the strokes. But the two important things to notice are first that the letter-forms, if analysed, do not differ very much (the *Set Hand* equally with the *Free* shewing forms that have been created by currency); and then that, such as they are, the letters in the *Set Hand* are made separately, at most joined one to the other by a simple and quite obvious tie; whereas in the *Free Hand* the process of modification (by ties and by all the other apparatus of currency) is actually going on before his eyes: that is to say that change is taking place all the time in the *Free Hands*, and in ways that cannot be predicted, while the *Set Hand* merely records the stage that current writing had reached when the writer learned it, or at any rate when he took up his pen to write. Of course this line of distinction (like all boundaries) is sometimes difficult or even impossible to draw. For every classification there must be a number, large or small, of cases which will not fit into any one class: and with regard to a great many pieces of current writing the most that one can say is that they are *on the whole* set or free.

It remains to note that the characteristics of this period are very widely spread—there is not as a rule much to distinguish English current hands from foreign ones of the same class, though from time to time one meets with exceptions; and that current hand-writing in England reached its highest point of excellence in the first quarter of the fourteenth century. At this time we find, widely diffused, a writing distinguished by the roundness of its short letters and the slightly exaggerated length of its ascenders and descenders, particularly the latter; a writing quite *Set* in its neatness and regularity, but small and apparently written with rapidity. The hand of Richard de Bury,\* author of the *Philobiblon*, is a notable example.

NOMENCLATURE. We have already used three technical terms (*Text*, *Set Hand* and *Free Hand*) and must pause here to attempt a settlement of the whole difficult question of names. For the earlier medieval period there are practically none which

\* Reproduced in facsimile in *Court Hand Illustrated*, Plate xxii (b). In my mind this style is always associated with the reign of Edward II and good examples

will be found in the *Receipt* and *Issue Rolls* of that reign: cp. *Court Hand*, Plate xxii (a). It occurs all over the country.

are contemporary and those in use till recently—*Book Hand* and *Charter Hand*—were unsatisfactory both because they were misleading, Books being frequently, and Rolls nearly always, written in hands which also wrote Charters, and because no provision was made for the distinction to which I have applied the names *Set*\* and *Free*. The names used here and later in this Book were adopted, after a great deal of discussion, by a small Committee in London† for the purposes of an Index of Facsimiles, now under construction: with the exception of *Free* all are taken from, or modelled on,‡ the terminology of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The student must not imagine that these names are of universal application. Outside England they would often be misleading: for *bastard*, of which we shall hear, does not always mean the same as *bâtarde*, nor *bâtarde* the same as *bastarda*; and no writing could be much further removed from another than is the English *Chancery* from the Italian *Cancelleresca*. Moreover, even in England the significance of a name changes from time to time; the *Secretary* of the later eighteenth century is not the *Secretary* of 1571 and *Court Hand* comes ultimately to be applied only to *Legal Hands*.

Nevertheless some nomenclature we must have and I have thought it best, for a work on English writings, to take boldly the names used by the earliest English printed Copy Book,§ contemporary as it is with the best of the writings we have described and confirmed by occasional references elsewhere: the only case where I have departed from its practice to any considerable extent is in the matter of the *Italic* and *Roman*, to which words (since the writings are still with us) I have attached their modern meanings.

Having thus labelled the nine or ten separate styles which we find in the Elizabethan period I have tried to trace seven of them backwards. When we get to the point at which their individuality disappears we have reached the period, dealt with in the previous section, in which there existed only three distinguishable classes, the *Text*, the *Set* and the *Free Hands*. At that period we may now recommence.

FROM THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY TO THE SEVENTEENTH. By the end of the fourteenth century a style of hand-writing had been developed which was to have a

\* Mr C. Johnson points out to me an example of this use of *Set* about 1479 in Hist. MSS. Comm. 8th Report, App., p. 265.

† The Palaeography Committee of the Board of Studies in History of London University: its Report was printed in the *Bulletin* of the Institute of Historical

Research, Volume 1, No. 2.

‡ Two or three of the *Special Set Hands* are not shewn by any Writing Master.

§ John Baildon in 1571 published with de Beauchesne *A Book containing Diverse Sortes of Handes*, from which several of our Alphabets are taken.



remarkable career. It was distinguished by certain strongly marked characteristics which we shall presently examine in more detail: and it underwent comparatively little change between the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries and 1571, when it appears in the first English Writing Master's Book under the name of *Bastard Secretary*. *Bastard* is the name generally given to the informal black letter types of the early printers, used particularly for the printing of books not in Latin, for which the hand of which we are speaking was the model: the addition of the word *Secretary* to this is based probably on an idea that it was a form of the *Secretary Hand* (the exact reverse of the truth); and I have therefore, with some hesitation, decided to call it simply *Bastard*, a name for which there is some independent authority.\* The *Bastard*, like the other *Set Hands*, will be more fully described later, and we must therefore devote no more space to it here: but these other *Set Hands*, its children, call for a word of introduction.

Until the latter part of the fourteenth century the various Royal Courts used for their enrolments a small, more or less *free*, hand. The only exception was that most ancient of English records the *Pipe Roll*,† which was written always in a large *Set Hand*. Throughout the fourteenth century were forming gradually those writing habits which were characteristic of the *Bastard*; and at the same time there was growing up a tendency to keep the larger forms for the older types of document, as contrasted with the less formal instruments belonging to newer branches of administration; so that a letter under the *Great Seal*, for example, might be in the same writing as, but much larger than, one under the *Privy Seal*. It may have been some notion of a deliberate intention in this which led to the enrolments as well as the originals taking the larger form: whatever the reason, we can watch during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries the growth of a custom by which the *Patent* and other *Chancery Rolls*, instead of being written in a small *Free Hand*, are written in a large *Set* one—in fact, in *Bastard*; and in other of the older forms of Record—the *Plea Rolls* of the Courts of Justice, the *Memoranda Rolls* of the *Exchequer*—the same observation may be made.

The next development was one by which the various Royal Courts—the *Chancery*, the Courts of *Common Pleas* and *King's Bench* and the *Exchequer*—worked out individual changes in the *Bastard Hand* for their individual requirements. Here

\* See below, § x, pp. 47, 48.

† The first of the *Pipe Rolls* dates from 1131 and a series runs with very few breaks from 1154 down to the nineteenth century. With the *Pipe Roll* I include

its copy the *Chancellor's Roll* and the *Enrolled Accounts* which are, in origin, merely sections of the *Pipe Roll*. A number of examples in facsimile will be found in *Court Hand Illustrated*.

again we can trace, over long series of documents, a gradually developed conception: there is no question of importation from abroad or of the acceptance, ready made, of a hand invented by some individual scribe at home. The student should realize that all these *Set Hands* are of natural growth and (with the exception of the *Bastard*) peculiar to this country.

No doubt the development was at first almost unconscious, due to the recruiting of the clerks in different departments by a system of some kind of apprenticeship. At what period the growing distinction was perceived and deliberately encouraged it is hard to say, though we shall be able to form some theories: but by the end of the first quarter of the sixteenth century it was so well established that the *Exchequer* actually had two *Set Hands*, one for the *Pipe Roll* and one for the *King's Remembrancer's* work; and something very near to a third in another department. We have then a large *Bastard Hand* and at least four special *Set Hands*, belonging to the *Exchequer*, to the *Chancery* and to the *Legal Courts*: and to these must be added one or two indeterminate half-set hands, formed in the worst period of the fifteenth century out of a smaller *Bastard*, and an infinite number of *Free Hands*.

There is only one more development now before the influence of the imported Italian hands begins that final series of changes which lead to the writings of our own time. It is, however, an important one—the appearance of the *Secretary Hand*, which in England begins to be prominent in our available documents about the end of the first quarter of the sixteenth century. This *Secretary Hand* is the result of a new school of penmanship. It is a definitely small *Set Hand*, following the letter-forms of the large *Bastard* but dispensing with most of its exaggerated angles and tapering strokes; in which respect it owes much to an intermediate hand of the fifteenth century of which we shall have a good deal to say later; and is capable of being written very rapidly with only the slight modification of ties between the letters. It slowly ousted the debased *Set* and *Free Hands* of the fifteenth century; but itself produced *free* varieties hardly less illegible though neater in appearance.

The *Secretary* is a hand which is seen in all the countries of Europe and in all kinds of documents: but it also forms, with the *Italic*, the point of departure for a divergence of National hands the effect of which has lasted down to the present day—it is the direct ancestor, for example, of modern German script. The long struggle between the *Secretary* and the *Italic*, which began in this country in the later sixteenth century, their admixture in different ways and proportions (with a



slowly-increasing preponderance of the *Italic*) and the final triumph of the latter, in a debased form, bring the history of ordinary hand-writing in England down to the early nineteenth century.

OVERLAPPING OF CLASSES AND DATES. We must not conclude this survey without emphasizing once more the fact that writings will always be found which, while they are not free (*i.e.* are bound by certain conventions outside the individual taste of the writer), are not bound by the conventions of any single one of the classes we have named: for instance, a commonly occurring hand is a *Secretary* with traces of the *Legal Hand* about it—the result, perhaps, of early training in a lawyer's office; and in dealing with the *Bastard* class we shall have to point out the large number of fifteenth century hands which, while they cannot be placed in that class, yet have many of its characteristics and are certainly not altogether free. The student must not expect, even with the *Free* class at his disposal, to be able to classify with a single word every one of the hands he will meet.

This overlapping is even more marked in the matter of periods. Any *Set Hand* which continued in much the same form over a long period is obviously difficult to date on the evidence of writing: but the student must remember that the same remark will apply to any free hand so long as we do not know (as we generally do not) who wrote it, where he learned his writing and how old he was.

### III

#### THE FORMS OF DOCUMENTS AND PROCEDURE

If it is the ideal of the student to be able to read the documents he uses with as much ease as he does the letters of his friends, he should face the fact that in the latter case he does not actually read more than fifty per cent. of the writing before him; in every word his eye examines, on the average, only two or three letters, his brain automatically supplying the remainder out of knowledge which is quite independent of the study of hand-writing. In other words, as has been pointed out in earlier books,\* the good reader, once he has mastered the elements of Palaeography, learned the ABC of his period, depends primarily, in reading medieval Archives, on his knowledge of the form of words or procedure which are normally employed under given circumstances; using the finer shades of palaeographical knowledge merely as a conclusive test of accuracy. Thus, to take two examples, Palaeography will give the student little help, after a certain stage, in the reading of *Plea Rolls* or *Receipt Rolls*: for the one he requires a knowledge of the forms of writs employed—the Diplomatic of the Law Courts; for the interpretation of the other he is dependent on an understanding of the complications of medieval Financial Administration.

Now in the case of post-medieval documents the first of these helps becomes largely inoperative: the merciful medieval formalism, which at least set bounds to the knowledge necessary for reading, has to a considerable extent disappeared. The unconventional type of document, and in particular the private letter, with its lack of any rules of form save in a few unimportant phrases of civility, begins in the fifteenth century to invade every department of administrative activity, public and private: in interpreting this the student has only his knowledge of hand-writing, and of the administration concerned, to help him: and very often even the latter is of little use, the difficulties turning on the individual and local peculiarities of the case. Thus to read with certainty (say) an Elizabethan *Deposition* requires practically no knowledge of form and is little helped by acquaintance with the administrative methods of Justices: it needs an historical and a literary experience much wider and much less defined than would be necessary for transcribing a medieval *Inquisition post mortem*.

Nevertheless the forms of documents cannot be neglected in the post-medieval

\* See my *Palaeography and...Court Hand* and cp. *Court Hand Illustrated*, pp. xxxvii, xxxviii. We are, of course, referring here to Archives and Current Writing.



period; for not only did most of the old ones survive but new and important ones accrued: in the realm of Law the most notable is the enormous increase of procedure by *Bill and Answer* and *Deposition*; in that of Accounting (both public and private) we have a revolution (rather a slow one) due to the introduction of the Italian system\* from which our modern usage, with *Ledger*, *Journal* and so forth, descends; and in business generally we have the marked development of *Minutes*† and of a regular method in recording correspondence, etc., with *Alphabets*, *Dockets*,‡ *Entry Books* and *Registers*. Still less can we expect to be able to work long among post-medieval Archives without at least some study of the administrative processes, public or private, to which they owe their existence.

The truth is, of course, that a most valuable key to the understanding of such documents as we are principally concerned with in all periods would be a *History of Administration and Business Processes in England*. Unfortunately no such book exists; nor is it our business here to write one. We can only warn the student that in attempting to utilize for historical purposes any comparatively large and unknown series of Archives he may probably find himself faced with the preliminary task of working out the history and administrative significance of the documents themselves. In Appendix II will be found a very brief *conspectus* of the types of Archive used in the present work and a list is here appended§ of some books of primary importance

\* See again below § XXII and for examples see Plate XXXIII.

† The form of these was of course known mediævally but their general use developed later. Very early *Admiralty Minutes* are illustrated in Plate XXXIV.

‡ Among the Public Records Alphabet books appear in the reign of Henry VII; see *Exchequer, K. R., Accounts* (E. 101), 414/16: the first *Docket Books* (Henry VIII) are those to the *Fines and Recoveries* of the Palatinate of Chester; *Repertory* and *Docket Rolls* in a few cases date from the late thirteenth and from the fourteenth centuries but become regular in the sixteenth century. Mediævally the book form was hardly used at all among the Public Records save in a few classes of Accounts—notably some of the *Wardrobe*: otherwise the book form is nearly always an evidence of foreign or ecclesiastical influence. For this subject see again below § IV.

§ [In an Introduction to the Surrey Record Society's *Guide to Archives...relating to Surrey* (S.R.S. No. XXIII, 1925) I have endeavoured to provide a skeleton outline of the subject of Administration and Archives.]

For the PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION represented by existing Public Records Giuseppe, M. S., *Guide to the...Public Record Office* (1923, 1924) is indispensable: for some Public Records not in the Public Record Office see the Appendices to the *Second Report* of the Royal Commission (1910) on Public Records; the official *Guides* to the Public Records of Scotland and Ireland (the latter now almost entirely destroyed) and to those of the India Office; the Historical MSS. Commission's *Reports* on the MSS. of the House of Lords; and Marshall, G. W., *Handbook to the Ancient Courts of Probate...* (1895). A convenient bibliography of official publication of Records is the Stationery Office List Q: and a very large collection of specimens will be found printed in Hall, Hubert, *Formula Book of English Official Historical Documents* (Cambridge, 1908, 1909); with which should be used Madox, T., *Formulare Anglicanum...* (1702) and the *Registrum Omnium Brevium*.

For LOCAL ADMINISTRATION see the Appendices to the *Third Report* of the Royal Commission (1910) and the earlier Reports there cited or quoted; Fowler,

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on the subject of Administration and the resulting Archives, which may serve as an introduction to others and in most cases as Bibliographies.

G. H., *The Care of County Muniments* (1923) should also be consulted, with the Authorities cited by him; and the usefulness of the various works of Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb on *English Local Government* is limited only by their *terminus a quo* (the Revolution): see particularly the bibliography in Vol. II, p. 10. It must be remembered that much Public Local Administration has always been in the hands of Corporations of various kinds and even of private individuals; and the key to the Archives of these is often a Report of the Hist. MSS. Commission (see below). Gross, C., *Bibliography of Municipal History* (1897) is also useful. Finally, the student interested in any particular locality will generally find it worth while to consult the publications of the County Archaeological and

Record Societies; but there is no general guide to these and they are now very voluminous.

For ECCLESIASTICAL ADMINISTRATION AND RECORDS see Bishop Stubbs' *Historical Appendix* to the *Report* of the Commission (1881) on Ecclesiastical Courts and several of the *Helps for Students of History* (S.P.C.K.), notably Jenkins, C., *Ecclesiastical Records*.

For MANORIAL and other PRIVATE ADMINISTRATIONS AND FAMILY PAPERS there is no good summary. Hone, N. J., *The Manor and Manorial Records* (2nd ed., 1912) is sometimes useful. The 19th *Report* (1926) of the Hist. MSS. Commission gives a valuable summary of work done by it up to date: and by means of this *Reports* on typical collections may be selected for study.



## IV

### MATERIALS AND MAKE UP

At this point the study of Archives brushes against other studies, particularly the Literary. Where this occurs the Archive point of view has generally been neglected and frequently has something new to offer: development in the use of Paper, for example, needs more study from every point of view, but it is particularly desirable that students of Archives should gather together the scattered evidences in that field. A second consideration is the strength of the influence of Convention in Archive practice.

PARCHMENT AND VELLUM. These materials are as a rule indistinguishable in Archives except to the extremely expert:\* but Parchment, in varying degrees of fineness, is enormously the most common and is fairly safe as a generic description. The size of the skins seems to increase during the fourteenth century (whose work on sheep-breeding may have had something to do with this) and at the beginning of our period we find a great plenty of skins which are both fine and large.† The fifteenth century saw the introduction of a great deal of coarse parchment, often of a yellowish colour, or alternatively of very poor and semi-transparent skins; and in the next two centuries we settle down (no doubt owing to the increased size of the legal documents and legal writings for which they were chiefly used) to the large, coarse parchments familiar in seventeenth and eighteenth century *deeds*, *commissions* and so forth. Both parchment and paper became subject to taxation in 1696‡ and on subsequent occasions and a remembrance of this fact may occasionally be useful.

PAPER.§ The earliest known examples of Paper among the Public Records date from the thirteenth century, but its use does not really begin in English Archives for another hundred years and even in the late fourteenth century, though plenty of it was then being imported, any Public Archives made on it are generally of foreign origin.|| The Scriveners' *Common Paper*, however, (so much used in the

\* Editors are too fond of attempting the distinction.

† The *Receipt* and *Issue Rolls* of the *Exchequer* of *Receipt* furnish notable examples.

‡ *Statutes of the Realm*, VII, p. 189.

§ For a convenient note on the *History of Paper* see an article by the Rev. P. H. Aitken in *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, XIII, p. 201; and for the Technical side of the subject Dawe, E. A., *Paper and its Uses...*: 2nd ed., 1919.

|| For example, the Bordeaux Accounts beginning in

the early fourteenth century (*Exchequer, K. R., Accounts* (E. 101), 158/2 and many subsequent numbers). Note, however, an original *Customs Account* (E. 122), 59/8 of 5 Richard II made on this material; and (more remarkable) its use in a *Coroner's Roll*, No. 255, of 46 Edward III and other occasional documents of local origin. The account, incidentally, shews the plentiful importation. For earlier evidence of this compare *Exchequer, K. R., Accounts* (E. 101), 471/10 and 472/4 of 29 and 31 Edward III.

present work) is entirely written on this material—perhaps in order to mark its ceremonial character.

In the next century we begin to get indications, from the casual occurrence of paper in certain of the less formal Archive series, that it was becoming more of an ordinary supply in any large office but it continued, according to all accounts, to be an article of importation only down to the sixteenth century: and though it is at least possible that the earliest manufacture in this country will presently be taken a good deal farther back, we may say that it does not become a thing of everyday occurrence till the sixteenth century, when it ranks with the introduction of printing, the new hand-writings and the new epistolary and other forms in Archives as a feature and a factor in post-medieval development. For the whole subject of paper and particularly its water-marks there is one outstanding authority:\* but Briquet's work goes down to 1600 only and, of course, owes very little to English Archives. It is probable that a study of water-marks† in, for example, the *State Papers* would add much to our knowledge.

The student should remember, however, that water-marks (since paper may lie long in stock) are unsafe as an indication of any date except the *a quo*.

COMPARATIVE USE OF PARCHMENT AND PAPER. The older forms of Archives, whether public or private, and Legal Archives in general, are conservative: so that all classes which were well established in the medieval period (for example the *Enrolments* of the central Courts and the *Court Rolls* of manorial administration) cling as a rule to the use of parchment long after the seventeenth century; and legal series whose importance, or even whose existence, dates from after 1500, if they belong to the older Courts, copy the style of the older Records in this. Even such a new series as that of the *Declared Accounts*‡ does not wholly avoid the influence. That practice in this matter has little to do with any idea of permanent record is shewn by the fact that it extends to such classes as *Judicial Writs*: that it is not a question of supply is clear from the complete and immediate ascendancy of paper in new classes such as the *State Papers*.§

ROLLS AND REGISTERS. Where, exceptionally, convention fails to keep the customary material in use it often preserves the form: so that paper sheets used for a

\* Briquet, C. M., *Les Filigranes...*: Paris, 1907.

† Cp. a valuable article on *The use of Watermarks in dating Old Maps...*, by L. Heawood, in the *Geographical Journal* of May 1924.

‡ The practice here was to make one copy on parch-

ment and one on paper: but I have seen one roll (*L.T.R., Decl. Acc.*, 454) which used both.

§ A curious comment on this point is the practice in regard to *Chancery Depositions*, the Town ones being on paper and the Country ones on parchment.



*Court Roll* will (most unsuitably) be made up in the roll form. On the other hand it is probable that by the end of the fifteenth century ready-made blank books of paper were not uncommonly sold by Stationers (frequently with alphabets at the beginning) and the register form accordingly developed rapidly and easily in all the newer Archive classes, while the older kept that (medievally more common) of the roll or file.

In this matter of make up the student will find it convenient to follow an agreed nomenclature, which is given in a recent publication.\* In any case he should be careful to employ consistently such words as *folio*, *leaf*, *membrane*, *piece* and *sheet*; *dorse*, *recto* and *verso*; *foliation* and *pagination*; *file*, *roll* and *book*: and should learn (by the way) to distinguish between the wrong and right sides of parchment—the hair and flesh sides of the skin, sometimes spoken of as *black* and *white*.

INK. Medieval Ink derives its qualities from Gall and Iron: the chief thing to be noted here is the intrusion (probably gradual) of carbon into the mixture. There is a gain in blackness, but the more carbon is included the more does ink become a paint resting on the surface† instead of a stain sinking into the writing material. The later inks have also very often a greenish tint due possibly to the presence of too much copperas in the mixture or to the use of wine or vinegar in lieu of water. The carbon inks begin to be prominent in Archives in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, being particularly popular, and indeed almost necessary, for the large *Set Hands* and heavy decoration of that period. The transition may be seen between (iii.) and (iv.) in Plate xxxviii: see also Plates xxxix, xl and xliv. There was at least one considerable book‡ on ink published in London before the end of our period and Writing Masters not infrequently give a recipe.

The medieval Scarlet Ink (so called) is purely a paint: but examples of a pinkish Writing Ink begin to appear in the sixteenth century in rulings.§

PENCIL. The medieval material is ordinary lead which appears in rulings and occasional marginals. The use of *graphite* (the modern material) begins probably in the sixteenth century: we know at least that the Borrowdale mine was being worked in the time of Camden. The earliest examples I have met are some notes of the year 1560 in the hand of Burleigh.||

\* The *Report on Editing* already cited (*Bulletin* of the Institute of Historical Research, No. 1).

† and as such peculiarly liable to damage.

‡ Caneparius, P. M., *De Atramentis*...: 1660.

§ Cp. *Exchequer, Augmentations, Miscellaneous Books*,

226, 227, 228.

|| *State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth*, 12, No. 14: cp. others in volumes 14 and 16. I am indebted for these examples to Dr Conyers Read. The ordinary lead has practically always oxidized to a reddish hue.

## LANGUAGES USED IN ENGLISH ARCHIVES

DISTRIBUTION. To arrive at any system or principle in this matter one has to study first the literary history of our period and qualify any resulting expectations with a very strong allowance for the power of convention. Speaking roughly we may say that the established language of writing folk in England till the last quarter of the thirteenth century was Latin: at the end of the thirteenth century the English form of Norman-French began to make itself strongly felt: and this again began to yield before the intrusions of English during the first quarter of the fifteenth century; finally surviving only in Legal use. The modification introduced by convention lies in the fact that, in Archives, a series of documents, or a type of document, which was in existence before one of the new languages came in will generally continue to use the tongue it has always used, partly through sheer prejudice or inertia in the writers concerned, partly because technicalities have arisen which they would really find it hard (as the lawyers of the seventeenth century found it hard\*) to translate into another tongue. Thus letters and writs under the *Great Seal* (whose forms had mostly been settled early in the thirteenth century, if not before) continued for centuries to be written mainly in Latin; those under the *Privy Seal*† (whose use became common and settled in the late thirteenth century) wavered long between Latin and French, with a strong tendency to the latter; the later medieval forms in which the Royal will was signified (*Signed Bills*, *Council Warrants* and the like) turned early from French to English; and the correspondence of the post-medieval *Secretaries of State* was from the first in English only. Similarly among private Archives *Court Rolls* (of which we have many examples dating from the thirteenth century) cling to Latin of a kind all through our period.

Examples might be multiplied, if space permitted. We may perhaps allow ourselves one further instance of the power of convention combined with its usual ally, a vested interest. The Commonwealth substituted English for Latin in various departments—notably in the *Plea Rolls*; the Restoration brought back the old writers and the Latin tongue: here the position of the vested interest was strengthened by the fact that there was not only a conventional language but (as we shall see) a conventional writing. It is also to be noted that even where Latin has given way to French or English, it will often survive in a heading or in occasional inserted

\* Cp. F. W. Maitland in *Selden Society Year Books of Edward II*, Vol. I (1903), p. xxxiv, quoting Roger North (*ob.* 1734).

† The first example of a *Privy Seal Warrant* in English is *Chancery, Warrants*, I, 706/3657 of 1437. The last example of a French one is *ibid.* 783/197 of 1461.



technicalities; a Will, for example, opening with a Latin phrase, a sixteenth century Kitchen Account in English using the prepositions *de* and *pro*, and so forth:\* in the Scriveners' *Common Paper*, the adhesions of the Members begin and continue in Latin; the Ordinances, which are so few in number† that they can hardly be expected to be subject to any convention, change with the centuries from a combination of Latin and French to English.

PECULIARITIES OF LANGUAGE: AND SOME AUTHORITIES. These cannot be dealt with at length here: but attention may be called to a few special points. In the matter of *Latin* it should be remembered first that in our period we reach, in Archives, the lowest ebb of knowledge of that language; and consequently, though we may never assume that the writer's Latin is at fault (it is a first rule that when the grammar appears to go wrong the accuracy of the modern transcriber, not the original writer, is to be suspected), still solecisms are not impossible. To a considerable extent the prevailing ignorance of Latin is masked by an increased use of abbreviation by suspension, which gets rid of all trouble as to terminations; and besides in a great many documents the high stage of formality reached enables the professional scribe to learn by rote much of what he will have to write: but anything out of the way‡ is liable to produce something very extraordinary—*pro grā et strō brō*, an expression noted in a Household Account and interpreted, after some difficulty, as meaning *for gravy and strong broth*, is not so out-of-the-way as might be thought:§ and the medieval habit of including English words, with *le* prefixed, in Latin documents grows ever more absurd as time advances; though an eighteenth century example recently noted,|| *pro les Board wages*, is perhaps a little extreme. In this connection we may note that ignorance of Latin produces also some very odd English in translation: such efforts as *bones presauntes* (from *bona presentia*)¶ are not uncommon in locally made documents. On the other hand the end of our period saw the revival of a sound Latinity in England and Classical Latin\*\* may make its appearance at any time in sixteenth century Archives; an outward

\* Some further examples will be found below in connection with NUMERALS (§ XXII).

† Seven during two centuries: the first English ones are of 1450.

‡ The original *Customs Accounts*, being full of strange commodities, produce a very strange Latinity: cp. the documents quoted in Gras, N. S. B., *The Early English Customs System* (Cambridge, Mass., 1918), e.g. at p. 455.

§ Examples of bad Latin of a less sensational kind will be found in Plates v, vii, viii, xi, xviii, xx, xxi, and others.

|| In *Exchequer of Receipt, Miscellanea* (E. 407), 79: for mixture of Latin and English cp. Plate xxxiii.

¶ See *Duchy of Lancaster, Inquisitions*, 5/49 (temp. Henry VIII).

\*\* Cp. Plate xviii (v.).

evidence of this being the reappearance of the *æ* diphthong.\* This last may be used, as in the well-known Guy Fawkes holograph by James I in the Record Office Museum, in English words of Latin derivation. One more legacy of Medieval Latin is a not infrequent use in English words of *cc* for *ct* before *-ion*: the abbreviation of this word in English in the same way as in Latin makes extension very difficult.

Two useful guides to Medieval Latin exist though they are not specially concerned with Archives:† and every student should know how to use Du Cange‡ and have access to a good Classical-Latin Dictionary:§ he should also realize that, where these fail, French|| or English¶ Dictionaries, used with imagination, may solve his problem. The present writer was completely beaten by the word *distannatum*, applied to a flag, until he thought of reading the double *n* as *ini*, inventing a French verb *disteindre*, and consulting Cotgrave.

In the matter of Medieval French Maitland's work\*\* is still indispensable, though it refers, of course, particularly to legal documents: a more recent publication†† gives an useful general outline and a valuable bibliography, but much still remains to be done from the special point of view of Archives rather than Literary Manuscripts; the author just cited being hampered in this respect by the fewness of printed texts.

The student will notice a similar difficulty in the case of a number of useful works‡‡ on the history of *English*. Here, and perhaps also in the case of French, writers, as a result of depending largely on Literary Manuscripts,§§ seem to a student

\* For examples see Plates xxi, xxx.

† Beeson, C. H., *Primer of Medieval Latin...*: Chicago, 1926; and Nunn, H. P. V., *Introduction to Ecclesiastical Latin*: Cambridge, 1922.

‡ Du Cange, Charles du Fresne Seigneur (ed. G. A. L. Henschel), *Glossarium... mediae et infimae Latinitatis...*: Paris, 1840-50. The works of Maigne d'Arnis and C. T. Martin are only partial substitutes for this. Wright, Thomas (ed. R. P. Wülcker), *Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies* (1884) is useful.

§ Forcellini and Facciolati, for preference, in the English edition by Bailey, J. (1828).

|| Any good modern French Dictionary is useful: but Cotgrave, R., *A French-English Dictionary* (1611), is almost indispensable because of its date.

¶ Murray, J. A. H., Bradley, H., and others, *New English Dictionary...* (Oxford: 1888, etc.), will naturally be used: but as even this depends mainly on printed sources, the student must not expect to find it in-

fallible or final. For Law terms Cowel, John, *Law Interpreter...* (1637: or better in later editions, e.g. 1727), may be used; or the repetition of this work in those of Jacob and Tomlins. The Index to Miss N. Neilson's *Customary Rents* in *Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History*, II, will be found very useful as a glossary: as also are Mainwaring's *Nomenclator Navalis* (printed by the Navy Records Society, 1922) and all other Glossaries or lists of Technicalities such as Beck, S. W., *The Draper's Dictionary...*

\*\* *Op. cit.* above, p. 24.

†† Visings, Johan, *Anglo-Norman Language and Literature*: Oxford, 1923.

‡‡ See particularly Chapter III, on the English of the fifteenth century, in Wyld, H. C., *A History of Modern Colloquial English*: 1920. The same author's *Short History of English...* (1921) is a good bibliography.

§§ A similar remark has to be made below (Section XXIII) in connection with PUNCTUATION.



of Archives to underrate the amount of the discount which has to be allowed upon any conclusions based on spelling: in our experience there is a really large number, if not a majority, of scribes, all through the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and well into the seventeenth, who are capable of spelling any word (including their own names) in three or four different ways in the course of a single page written in the vernacular.\* Until the latter part of the sixteenth century the very idea of rigid rules of spelling (except in Latin) is foreign to most writers of Archives, and one might probably say to writers in general. Eccentricities of spelling continue, of course, to a still later date. Allowance also (though how much is a point yet to be decided) must be made for the results of copying from dictation—this affects even Latin documents.†

Finally, in studying Archives from the linguistic point of view, as in other cases, the use of Administrative History as a guide must never be forgotten: it is useless to read subtleties of dialectal development into (for example) a *deposition* or an *assessment* without knowing whether such documents were generally prepared by a local or a central official.

THE USE OF *i*, *j*, *u*, *v* AND *w*. Much information has yet to be gathered before any definite pronouncement can be made as to the time when these letters came by their modern use in writing, that is to express pronunciation. The evidence of early printing is discounted in some cases by the possible foreign origin of the type but something may be gleaned, with patience, from writing: it is, however, a confusing situation.

On the one hand we have clear evidence of the medieval practice, which governs the employment of *u* or *v*, *i* or *j*, by position: *v* being the correct initial (*versus*, *vnum*) and *j* the correct initial (*juuenis*, *jnitium*) and also the correct final (*junij*) if it is the second of two *i*'s: save in very early times the initial has always something of the capital form as compared with final *j*. *w*, though from the first it is employed mainly in the modern way in English words, may for a long time appear in French as a substitute for *u* (or *v*) and even for the double letter (*ws*, for example,

\* Examples of erratic spelling will be found in Plates xxii, xxiv, xxv, xxvii, xxxiv, etc. Note also the spelling of Writing Masters quoted at pp. 59 and 65. In *Chancery, Close Roll*, 596 m. 1, of 1561, we have the spellings *mannour*, *mannor* and *manor* within four lines. Note also that in Plate xxxii a clerk actually mis-spells in transliterating Cipher: and see Fig. 26.

† Examples in Plate ix. A good early instance is *cecando* for *secando* in 1298 in *Exch., Pipe Rolls*, 140, m. 19 d. and note *Issue Rolls* (E. 403), 216, of 19 Edward II, where a payment is made to Geoffrey de Saleby *sirurgico*. Examples of this confusion between *s* and *c* might be multiplied at a later date in words like *pissis* (for *piscis*) and *sedula* (for *cedula*).

representing *vous*). This un-modern use of *w* was the first to disappear\* and will give little trouble during the period covered by this Book. The *u* and *v* convention, though it continues to be observed in the main, is broken with tolerable frequency all through the medieval period: curiously this occurs more (apparently) in the twelfth century than in the fourteenth. The *i* and *j* convention begins to be broken, as regards the initial, fairly frequently in the later medieval period, but only when the sound required is an undoubted *i*: and most scribes shew marked fondness for an initial which might be either a capital or a small letter but which is undoubtedly *ŷ* or *j*.† Moreover the positional use of *i* and *j*, *u* and *v*, continues both in printing and in writing well into the seventeenth century,‡ not only in Latin (where it might pass for a survival) but also in vernacular writings; and appears to be supported by the Alphabets of Writing Masters so late as Cocker.§ Here also, as elsewhere, we must always be prepared for surprisingly late survivals of old fashions.¶

On the other hand there is scanty but clear evidence of an appreciation during the medieval period of some consonantal value attaching to *v* and *j*. Thus writers who continue to employ medial *u* in Latin will insert a medial *v* with obvious intention in English words, especially names: this is becoming common in the fifteenth century as may be seen from our *Common Paper* plates. The evidence for a consonantal *j* is definite but scarcer; it is the occasional use of *ŷ* medially or initially for a soft *g* sound: I do not think that the evidence, for example, of a name spelt *de Sancto ŷorgio* in 1382¶ can be set aside.

The curious thing is that the consonantal use having begun should have taken so long in ousting the positional: that in the sixteenth century, for example, a man should spell his own name with equal satisfaction *Stauerton* and *Staverton*:\*\* the important thing (if this point is to be examined further) is that *u* and *v* should be correctly rendered in transcription.

LANGUAGES SHEWN IN ILLUSTRATIONS. In Appendix III will be found a Table of Languages used in the Plates. As it may seem to shew rather a preponderance of Latin we should perhaps point out that this is largely due to the use of a long series

\* I have met with it in the late fourteenth century but it is rare.

† The transcriber's chief difficulty is in making up his mind whether he is to render it as *I* or *ŷ*. In the present work *I* has been adopted.

‡ For examples of practice in this Book see Plates XII, XV, XVII, XX, XXXIV, XXXIX, XL, etc.

§ See, for example, Alphabets 10 and 11.

¶ I have seen the spellings *trw* (true) and *undwtifull* in a well-written draft for a *Chancery Bill* of the seventeenth century; and the spelling *Reueneu* in the hand (*italic*) of a Clerk of the Privy Council in 1660: see *Register* (P.C. 2/54) under date 16 July.

¶ In *Exchequer, K. R., Customs Accounts* (E. 122), 59/8.

\*\* In the *Common Paper*, p. 93.



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from the subscriptions in the Scriveners' Company's *Common Paper*, and that these owing to the similarity of their wording will be found to present little difficulty, after one or two have been read, so far as Latinity is concerned. Other Latin Plates are those which could not be avoided for an adequate display of the *Special Set Hands*.

For the benefit of those following only Elizabethan informal writings we may also take the opportunity of referring to a very fine collection of facsimiles\* recently published with notes and transcripts which may serve to supplement the present work for those specializing in ordinary Elizabethan and Jacobean hands.

\* *English Literary Autographs, 1550-1650*: part I—Dramatists: ed. W. W. Greg, Oxford, 1925. Part II (Poets) is in preparation.

## VI

### THE TEACHING AND PRACTICE OF HAND-WRITING IN ENGLAND

This is in parts a very obscure subject, the elucidation of which must wait upon slow and patient accumulation of scattered evidences. I have endeavoured to indicate elsewhere\* the lines upon which further research might proceed: here we can only summarize.

MEDIEVAL PERIOD. Outside the Monastic *Scriptoria*, where the *Text* was mostly written and its fashions set, there are four recognized classes of writers (*i.e.* writers of Business Hands)—Clerks, Public Scriveners, Notaries Public and the persons vaguely called *Laici Literati*; the last being strictly not a class at all but merely a convenient designation: and to these I would add a fifth—the Writers of the *Special Set Hands*. The Schools known to us are the Church Schools of various grades.†

THE CLERK. Strictly speaking a *clericus* is one who is not necessarily in orders but has received the tonsure after education (presumably) in a Church School. The problem is whether the numerous *clerici* referred to in Archives‡ were all so called in the strict meaning of the word: how soon in fact the modern sense began.

PUBLIC SCRIVENERS. Of these, we have good evidence in the *Common Paper* so much used in the present work. But most large towns probably had similar guilds. Our Scriveners apparently recruited up to 1628§ almost entirely by apprenticeship; but we do not know how much the apprentice knew when he came nor whether, mediævally, the master taught any others beside him. Of their writings we shall speak below.|| They depended mainly on conveyancing work; being, with the attorneys, the ancestors of the modern solicitor: but would undertake any writing job and kept shop like other tradesmen. A development out of conveyancing, especially in the latter part of our period, was the practice of arranging, or even making, Loans.¶ The statistics of admissions to the Company are striking: after going on up to 1540 at the rate of about 80 in every fifty years, regularly distributed, they leap to a total of 585 in the period between 1540 and 1628.

NOTARIES PUBLIC. Except for their *marks*, which are treated below,\*\* these concern us little. Mediævally, being appointed by Pope or Emperor, and specializing

\* See an article in *History* (July and October, 1926) and the authorities there cited.

† See Adamson, J. W., *Guide to the History of Education* in S.P.C.K. *Helps for Students of History*, No. 24. This contains an useful Bibliography.

‡ See above, § II. See also Maxwell Lyte, Sir H. C.,

*Historical Notes on the Great Seal...*: 1926: Ch. I.

§ Unfortunately subsequent Registers are not extant.

|| § XIX.

¶ Cp. Tawney, R. H., Thomas Wilson's *Discourses upon Usury*: 1925: pp. 96–101.

\*\* § XX.



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in the Roman or Canon Law, they had only a limited popularity in England and generally, if they were Englishmen, combined their profession with that of Scrivener. The foreign Notaries shew of course the influence of their training in their writing: but the English ones do not differ in this from other Scriveners. After the Reformation arrangements (still in force) were made for their appointment through the Archbishop of Canterbury: they then fell gradually into their modern position of specialists in foreign business.

**THE LETTERED LAYMAN.** The phrase is generally used of persons of station who had a tincture of letters which might well be derived from the Church Schools. But applying it to the persons who wrote the mass of local documents (*Court Rolls, Manorial Accounts, Deeds, Household and Commercial Accounts, Letters* and a vague but enormous quantity of supplementary documents) which have survived to us in colossal yet (if we think of the original make) relatively small numbers, we have to find some other source from which such persons may have derived a smattering of education in writing and accounting. The suggestion has been made that such teaching was supplied in informal schools by Chantry Priests and similar persons: to which I have ventured to add that much was probably done by informal apprenticeship; Reeves, Bailiffs and so forth taking on likely lads as learners. More than any other this part of our subject is waiting for the results of research. Below\* will be found some further inferences based on the types of local writing, such as those in Plates xxiv and xxv.

**WRITERS OF THE SPECIAL SET HANDS.** Here again recruiting was probably by way of informal apprenticeship tempered with nepotism: writers of three out of the four hands (the two *Exchequer* and the *Chancery*) forming close professions and a section of the last actually (at the end of the sixteenth century) an incorporated College; of which more later. Where, in the medieval period, the aspirant got his preliminary schooling is the same question as that already raised à propos of *Clerks*.

**POST-MEDIEVAL PRACTICE.** The conditions of writing, reading, teaching and learning, as has been remarked above,† are now entirely changed. In particular the schools begin to provide commercial education and the cultured to treat Writing as an Art: and a new type of Writing Master comes to fill an obvious need in almost every field where writing is practised.

This, the Writing Master *par excellence*, is a phenomenon seen in all countries. Printing at once changed the sphere of the fine writer (who was no longer wanted

\* § xii, p. 55.

† § i, p. 5.

at his old trade) and made possible the spread of his art through printed Copy Books: it also fixed for all time two types, the *Roman* and *Italic*. The first Writing Master's book appeared in Italy in 1522 and was speedily followed by others there and elsewhere.\* England, though it did not produce one till 1571, thereafter did a great deal† and our Alphabets in this work are taken largely from that source.

The Writing Master probably became prominent in England at about the date (the second quarter of the sixteenth century) noted already in other connections;‡ and continued in high prosperity,§ a person of position and quite distinct from the teacher in other subjects, for nearly 200 years. Of his writings we shall speak below, but we may note here that he taught all the styles except (perhaps||) the special *Exchequer Hands* (which never appear in Copy Books) and found clients for them.¶ He fell finally when the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries swept away almost all trace of the *Special Hands*, reducing writing to a dead level: but he had prepared the way for his own downfall, here and abroad, when he began to rely for distinction upon those mere finesses and flourishes which the perfection of copper-plate engraving enabled him to reproduce in his books.

\* See Strange, E. F., in the Bibliographical Society's *Transactions*, III, p. 41. For convenience we repeat here a short list of Masters, typical examples of whose work can be seen at the British Museum:—Vicentino (1522), Carpi (1523), Tagliente (1524), Palatino (1540), Cresci (1560), and Gagliardelli (1583) from Italy; Tory (1529), Beauchesne (1550), Hamon (1561), and Beaugrand (1597), with Senault and Materot at a later date, from France; and de Yciar (1548) and Lucas (1577) from Spain. See also Jessen, Peter, *Meister der Schreibkunst...*, Stuttgart (1925), which is incomplete but gives a very large number of examples from all countries (including notable Dutch and German ones), finely reproduced.

† The student will find representative work in the British Museum of the following among many masters:—Ayres, J. (*A Tutor to Penmanship*, 1698, etc.); Baildon, J. (1571); Bickham, G. (c. 1710);

Billingsley, M. (*The Pen's Excellencie*, 1618, etc.); Cocker, E. (*The Pen's Transcendency*, 1660, etc.); Davies, J. (pub. 1663 but written earlier); Gery, P. (c. 1670); Gething, R. (*Caligraphotechnia*, 1619, etc.); Hodder, J. (c. 1660); Johnson, J. (1669); Shelley, G. (*Natural Writing in all the Hands*, 1709, etc.); Snell, C. (c. 1693); Weston, T. (*Ancilla Calligraphiae*, 1682, etc.).

‡ See above, p. 16; also § XIII below.

§ Cocker, for example, seems to have had enormous sales: cp. the verses prefixed to his *Magnum in Parvo* by his publisher.

|| See below, p. 71.

¶ See examples in the article already cited. A good instance of elaborate writing, recently noted, was a letter from the Governor of Massachusetts to Charles II (*Colonial Office*, 1/15, No. 77) which used the *Italic*, the *Secretary*, a strongly marked *Frisée* hand and *Roman*.



## VII

### CURRENT LETTER-FORMS OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

IMPORTANT NOTE. The illustrations of letters in this section\* are not taken from any contemporary manuscript but drawn for the special purpose of shewing stroke-action—the direction in which the pen travelled in making certain letter-forms. In examining palaeographically individual letters in current writings it is this stroke-action which the student most needs to discover.

The illustrations must not be taken as representing the appearance of the letters, which will be shewn later in the Alphabets.

SOME GENERAL TENDENCIES. In studying fifteenth century hands and their derivatives the student may expect to find from time to time examples, or reminiscences, of certain favourite features. (1) One is the angular hook stroke added to the head or foot of a long stroke (on the right if it is above the line, on the left if it is below) at an angle of about  $40^\circ$ . (2) Another is the habit of beginning a letter with a starting stroke (it derives from a tie with a preceding letter, but comes to be used as an actual part of the letter itself): this may be short as in *d* below or prolonged into a curl below the short letter such as *v* (see again below) to which it is attached. (3) A third feature is the angle introduced into what should be a rounded back  $\curvearrowright$ : the same desire for an angle produces (4) another common device by which a vertical stroke stops short before it reaches the line and turns at an obtuse angle to the right and down, or has a foot added to it in a separate stroke  $\perp$  in that direction; this is seen at its extreme in a form of *N* (shewn below). Again the same fancy applied to a short minim (*i* or the limbs of *m*, *n* or *u*) produces (5) what is also a feature of *Text*—the stroke turned left at the head and right at the

foot  $\lrcorner$ . Then we have (6) the strong tendency to a tapering long stroke  $\nearrow$ , which

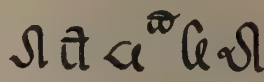
is obtained with some difficulty (while the pen is still cut obliquely) by various devices: one of these is to bring the pen up again on the left of the original down stroke till it gets to the head and then across to the right; which produced the *Bastard* form of long *f* known to early type-founders (see Figure 1 below). With this feature of the tapering stroke go the three minor tendencies (i) to incline this stroke to the right or, (ii) when there is a pair, right and left (producing a compass-like appearance seen in *ff* below) and (iii) to exaggerate its length below the line. Finally we have to note (7) the tendency to decorate capitals with one or even two

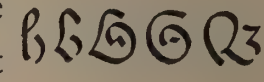
\* I am much indebted to Mr A. J. Fairbank, who was good enough to draw up the letters here reproduced from my draft.

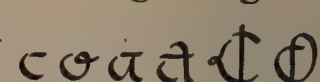
vertical strokes through them. An early result of this was that such strokes came to be thought of as an essential part of the letter and, as such, profoundly modified its form in some cases (especially *C*, *E* and *T*), as indeed did the hook stroke first noted above in the case of other letters (notably *D* and *R*): but the habit may be seen working still at a later period (on *N*, *O*, *P* and *Q*).

All these tendencies appear in moderation in the *Bastard Hands* as we shall see below: and the exaggeration of this one or that produced most of the *Special Set Hands*. In the following illustrations they have been inserted only here and there: the student must imagine them occurring potentially at any point where the form of the letter gives scope for them.

## THE LETTERS

**a<sup>a</sup> A** The minuscule letter has two forms, headed and headless. Our first two figures shew the headed form made in one action (beginning on the left) and in three: the latter gives great trouble later when people try to write it in one action. Our third is the short *a* made in one action as most people write it now. The superior <sup>a</sup> had reached before our period the form of an *u* with a straight bar above: the latter is almost always made currently (as here) by continuation of the last stroke of the *u*. *A* is generally an enlargement of either the short or the headed minuscule. In the former case it nearly always begins with a right-handed hook and is made in one action. 

**b B** There is little to say of *b*, which is shewn here in two examples, each made in two downward actions. Note the similarity of the second to *v*; as a rule the only other danger of confusion is when the second stroke, instead of being turned left at the foot to meet the first, is turned outwards in order to make a liaison with the next letter; producing a form which looks like *li*. Either of these forms, by carrying on the pen from the foot of the first stroke upwards, could be made in one. *B* is more important. We have first the typical form derived from highly current writing in the thirteenth century of a two-action Roman *B*: the outside curve on the right being purely a connecting stroke. We shew this form made with either one or two actions: the important point being that the pen begins always at the top. We shew, after these, a simplified form nearer to the original *B*. 

**c C** The important form of *c* is the second, made in one action, beginning on the left, which is almost identical with that used for certain forms of *e*, *o*, *r* and even *a*. In *C* the importance attaches to 



the added vertical stroke, which is hardly ever omitted. Made in one action (as in our second example) this vertical stroke comes last and the effect produced is that of three quadrants of a circle with two diameters drawn at right angles to each other.

**dD** The minuscule, made in one action from the left, needs little comment. The same letter enlarged often serves as capital: but another form, here shewn, is common: this always includes some remains of the right-handed hook, from which the pen starts, concluding with an ornamental vertical line. The latter produced round to the left and then across the centre of the letter gives a very common\* abbreviation for *De*, *D*, with an action like *T*.

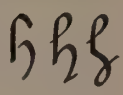
**eE** The forms of *e* have been dealt with already above (p. 8): and variant forms of *E* may be studied in the initials of almost every entry in the *Common Paper* (see Plates I to XXI). The two forms shewn here are made in three and two actions respectively.

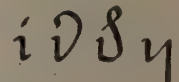
**f ff** Capital *F* is practically unknown in our period, the double small letter being employed: the use of this, however, is very loose. The pen's action in making the single letter does not differ materially from that used now: but the double one may be made as here shewn with a single head serving for both or (as in the case of *ff* below) with the two heads interlocking.


**gG** The important elements in *g* are three—the two bows and the final horizontal stroke on the right, which is rarely omitted. In the second and third of our examples (each made in one action) attention is concentrated on bringing in this stroke at the end. In our fourth and fifth examples it has to be added separately and that is why in the case of the fifth (which may be made currently in one action by beginning at the bottom of the left-hand stroke instead of the top) it is sometimes omitted (examples will be found in Plates XI and XII). *G* in our first example is made in three or four actions, in the second in one: in this last, in order (again) to secure a marked final horizontal stroke, the writer always begins at the top of the added central vertical stroke; this incidentally distinguishes the letter from *B*.


**hH** The minuscule starts by being made in a double or single action in the modern fashion, the final limb only coming below the line when at the end of a word. The desire to use this form medially, or to tie the word whose conclusion it is to another, results in the third form shewn here and this in turn results

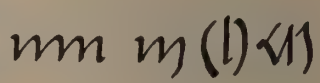
\* It was still in use in the nineteenth century.

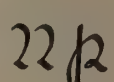
in the complete disappearance of any kink in the centre, the letter becoming (as in modern German script) a long stroke with narrow bows, on the right above the line and on the left below it. *H* is normally a mere enlargement of the formal minuscule, though it may be decorated with horizontal or vertical lines through it, or a central dot. 

**ijIJ** The dotting or stroking of *i* becomes pretty general during our period (at first it was used only where confusion was possible) and two ways of adding the stroke in one movement are seen in our second and third examples. *j* is used for the most part only when it follows *i* in a final position, though the use is sometimes extended to the termination *-ijs*. There is only one form of capital for *I* and *J* and this is used very frequently as an initial *i*: the best plan is probably to render it always *I* in transcription. Two forms of this *I*, or rather *J*, are shewn here; the first may be made in either two actions or one, beginning at the bottom of the left-hand stroke in the latter case. Note that the period when *j* or *J*, with the modern sound, first begins is very doubtful: I have seen an example of medial *j* used for *g* in the thirteenth century; and on the other hand the seventeenth century Writing Masters are still evidently in doubt about it. See above under **LANGUAGES**, p. 28. 

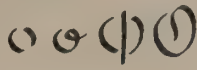
**kK** Two forms (double action and single, the latter starting of course from the top) are here shewn. *k* is only distinguished from some forms of *R* by the projection of its top above the bow. There is no separate form of *K*. 

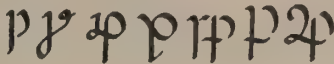
**lL** The minuscule needs no comment, being made in its current forms with the same action as now. The capital practically does not exist before the sixteenth century: but there is some case for reading one when the *l* has a particularly pronounced foot. 

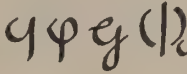
**mMn** There is in the fifteenth century (and later) no means save the sense of distinguishing *i*, *m*, *n*, and *u*. Note however that when *m* is in a final position it tends to produce the last limb below the line (only a little way, very often). When this form occurs initially it may generally be interpreted as a capital. The more usual capital, however, is made in three or two actions as in our examples: the second of these need not, of course, have the angle in the back. 

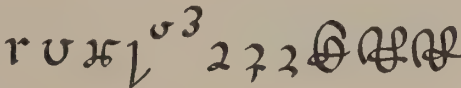
**N** This capital has two curious forms, both shewn here, the first made in two actions, the second in one (beginning at the top on the left). The latter is at times easily confusable with *ß* in ligature. 



oO We shew double- and single-action forms of *o*, the latter indistinguishable, as an action, from several other letters (see above under *c* and below under *s*). The capitals shewn are three-action and single-action,  the latter beginning of course on the left at the top.

pP We illustrate one double-action and three single-action forms: the last two being very long-lived and the last remarkable for its identity with a form of *x* (see below). The conjoined *pp* is made in four strokes.  It is common and may have added to it the marks of abbreviation for *per*, *pro*, or *pre*. *P* reproduces, with a little extra elaboration, minuscule forms. It is often decorated with a central dot.

qQ The chief point to notice in *q* (all our examples are one-action pieces, starting on the left of the bow) is that whatever form it takes it never,  in the period under review, adopts the modern plan of bringing the pen straight up on the right of the tail in order to distinguish it from *g*. *Q* is a modified *O*. The current form like an exaggerated 2 does not occur normally till the sixteenth century though it had been known much earlier.

r<sup>r</sup>R The short *r* shewn in our first specimen had almost disappeared from current hands before our period but reappears (imported from *Text*) in some of the most formal *Bastard Hands* and when these degenerate into the small *fifteenth century Set Hand* it goes with  them, becoming so current in some as to be made in the same single action as letter *o* (see our second example). Remaining more angular but making a permanent feature of the added foot it gives us the single-action form shewn in our third specimen, which becomes one of the typical letters in *Secretary Hand*. The long *r*, which for a time ousted completely the short one, early tends to lose its final horizontal stroke to the right and become, as in our example, a single thick vertical stroke with a short thin diagonal running up from its foot (as shewn here): this letter is a feature in all the *Special Set Hands*; and is also very common with the second limb produced into a curl above the line as a sign of suspension. The Arabic 2 form, properly used only after *o* or, sometimes, *a*, is early extended to use after similar letters (such as *p* and *b*) and in the fifteenth century is frequently used in substitution for the short *r* in any position; the tailed form, seen in our second and third examples, is an earlier development which reappears at intervals till a very late period; and is often indistinguishable from the long *x* (cp. Fig. 3 below, Plate xxii (ii.) and other examples in this book). The superior <sup>r</sup> may appear at any

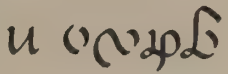
time in the 2-form just dealt with; but in the *Set Hands* more often figures as a sign, derived from an earlier form, made like a very current *c*, with or without an added upward flourish. Of the two single-action forms of *R* (the first beginning at the top on the right, the second on the left at the bottom) the second is sometimes so sketchily written as to be misread for a badly formed *f*. See also under *k*.

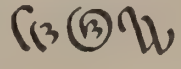
*s* *f* *S* *f* The long and short forms of *s* continue throughout our period to be kept fairly strictly to their respective places; the usual initial and practically invariable medial and double letter being *f* and *s* the most usual final. The latter consists of three strokes (seen in our first example) and the two main forms of it are derived from making these currently in a different order; the first starting with the middle one of the three and then making the lower and finally the top one in a single *sigma* action; the second form making, in two actions, first the lower stroke, then the top and middle ones. Later developments consist mainly in turning the *sigma* form to the left so that the last stroke projects nearly straight up instead of turning to the right as here; but there is also a highly current form which makes this form in the single action used for *c*, as explained above. The long *f* may be made in one action beginning with the head; but very generally the pen begins at the shoulder (so as to make a serif), travels down the full length and then comes up again on the left of this stroke to add the top as is seen in our second and third examples. The ligature *f* is made (see illustration below) by carrying on from the head of *f*. The most common form of capital is an enlargement of the small *sigma* form. For some special forms of *S* see under DECORATION below.

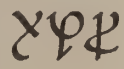
*t* *T* Medievally *t* is practically indistinguishable from *c* and made like it in one or two actions: but during our period a growing tendency is observed to produce the letter above the cross and, presently, to turn its top to the right in a beak; a letter in two actions. Note that (especially in Latin) the scribes are at first very uncertain in their distinction of the uses of the letters even when that of their forms is well established. *T* is one of the letters which make a permanent feature of a vertical stroke, originally a mere decoration. In the current (and most usual) form shewn here the pen begins at the top of the second stroke from the left, which is the true back of the letter. This is one of the most typical letters of the *Special Set Hands*.

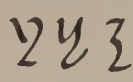
*u* *v* *V* *u* has been already noticed under *m*. *v* is in origin a double-stroke letter and generally remains so until the addition of an angle at the foot of its



first stroke makes it convenient to turn it into a single action. Note in our example of this the tendency to turn the end of the letter over and down, giving us the same action as that of current *p* (see above). *V* is exactly the same letter as *v* a little enlarged: there is no *U* in our period. Note that the *u*  differentiation in sound between *u* and *v* does not become common (so far as its representation in writing is concerned) till late in the fifteenth century: and one would hardly like to say when it is complete.

**W** There is no distinction between capital and minuscule. In the early part of our period the thirteenth century form, derived from a current writing of the interlocked *vv*, continues in one of the forms shewn (three  actions or one). Later a simplified form appears, as in our third example.

**X** Before our period the original idea of *x* (two round brackets addorsed) had disappeared in favour of a short diagonal from left to right crossed by a longer one from right to left, the latter having a strong tendency to the tail with a right turn. This in a single-action form gives us yet another reproduction  of the current *p* and in two actions resembles either *p* or *y* according to the length of the first stroke.

**Y<sup>Z</sup>** These need little comment. The fashion of giving a dot or stroke to *y* appears at intervals through our period. The capital is merely an enlargement. Capital *Z* in the Roman form is rare, if not unknown, in the fifteenth  century.

## VIII

### RUNES

For the forms and employment of these during the medieval period reference may be made to *Court Hand Illustrated*.<sup>\*</sup> Only the thorn þ (hard *th*) survives<sup>†</sup> in anything save the copying of old documents to the end of the fifteenth century; and after 1500 even that is rare. But one or two points of interest arise.

First it is to be noted that whereas in earlier enrolments þ is generally transcribed by writers copying old charters as *y*,<sup>‡</sup> in the fifteenth century when manuscripts in the vernacular begin to figure in Archives it recurs in its own form—another of the small pieces of evidence as to some kind of rough popular education<sup>§</sup> in England. Next we have to notice its form—it is generally not very well made and rather resembles the wen (p),<sup>||</sup> which does not itself reappear. We observe also the curious misunderstanding which led to þ being used with superior *e* for *the*:<sup>||</sup> this was, of course, replaced by *y<sup>e</sup>*; and *y<sup>e</sup>*, after continuing in serious use to a very late date,<sup>¶</sup> has survived as a modern vulgarity. The superior letter in *y<sup>m</sup>* and *y<sup>t</sup>* (for *them* and *that*) is quite correct because it indicates the omission of another letter (see § IX, below).

The Anglo-Saxon ð survives up to the end of the fifteenth century, or even a little later,<sup>\*\*</sup> in the form of an ordinary *d* used for *th* in such words as *fader*. Similarly the Anglo-Saxon ȝ (guttural *g*), though it never recurs (so far as we have seen) in its original shape, continues, in the *z* form, to make itself felt in English for some time as a substitute for either *y* or *g*.<sup>††</sup> Examples are fairly frequent up to 1500: and even after that date it lingers on in such words as *tailzour*<sup>‡‡</sup> (for *tailour*). In Scotland it has, of course, survived to the present day in one or two personal names such as Menzies.

\* pp. 55–57.

† Examples will be found in Plates xxii and xxv and in Fig. 4 below and Alphabet 3.

‡ Cp. the examples in *Court Hand Illustrated*, *loc. cit.* An example of the extent to which the old letter had been forgotten in certain circles may be found in a Warrant of 4 Henry IV (*Chancery Warr.* I, 1399, Nos. 3 and 4), where *Thaxted* has been transcribed *Pakstede* (see also *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1401–1405, p. 176).

§ See above, § vi.

|| See an example of the late fifteenth century in

Alphabet 3.

¶ I have found it so late as the nineteenth century: cp. *B.M., Add. MSS.* 38191, ff. 53, 59.

\*\* A recently noted example is in *State Papers, Henry VIII*, 46, f. 252. See in this work Plates xxiii (v.), xxiv (ii.).

†† See Plate xxii. Note the common extension by which (as in Plate xxvi) we have *y* for *g*.

‡‡ An example will be found in *Exchequer, First Fruits, Writs and Misc.* 4, a document of the late seventeenth century referring to *one Owen Russell tailzour*.



## IX

### ABBREVIATIONS, LIGATURES, CONJOINED LETTERS AND ELISIONS

The student should consult *Court Hand Illustrated*\* for detailed examples of these in the medieval period and for lists of commonly occurring words and syllables which are generally abbreviated in the same way: here we can deal only with a few special features of our own period; but may perhaps repeat a warning that the printed dictionaries of Abbreviations, though occasionally useful,† should be employed with extreme caution because they are compiled largely from MSS. in *Text* and also because they do not make allowance for the caprices of a current writer, who frequently uses an accepted abbreviation in a sense of his own. The four methods of Abbreviation are *Contraction* (the omission of medial letters), *Suspension* (omission of final letters), the use of *Special Signs* and the use of *Superior Letters*. A fair number of examples of all these will be found in our Alphabets and are described with them in later sections.

CONTRACTION AND SUSPENSION. It has been noted already‡ that as a genuine knowledge of Latin decays, so the use of *suspension* grows, because it enables the scribe to dispense with terminations. This tendency, once begun, is carried into the writing of the vernacular when that becomes common (where, indeed, in a period of unsettled spelling, it is almost equally useful) and might well have superseded *contraction* here altogether. However, in Latin documents, owing to the fixity of some of the conventions which have already been mentioned, *contraction* remained common: and as Latin remained for a long time the legal language a certain number of contractions also ended by passing into English both in Lawyer's practice§ and elsewhere. Notable in our period are the English words ending in *-tion* (or *-cion*) which tend to drop the *i* as the Latin ones did from which they are derived.

Both *suspension* and *contraction* may be marked mediævally by a more or less horizontal line over the abbreviated part: and *suspension* may have instead of this two full stops, one on each side of an initial standing for a whole word;|| or a single stop on the right, where more letters than one remain; or a vertical line through

\* pp. 57 *seq.* and xxvii *seq.*

† The best is perhaps Chassant, A. L., *Dictionnaire des Abréviations...*: 5th ed., Paris, Evreux, 1884: see also Cappelli, A., *Dizionario di Abbreviature...*: Milan, 1899; Hardy, T. D., *Registrum Palatinum Dunelmense*, vol. IV, 1878; and Martin, C. T., *Record Interpreter*: 2nd ed., 1910.

‡ Above, Section v.

§ Readers of Dickens' *Bleak House* will recall the lawyer's letters in contracted English.

|| See an article cited below, Section XXII, p. 95, for a note on the use of stops with numerals; and for examples of this see Plate XXXVIII.

the last stroke of a final letter where this is horizontal, as in *g*, *k*, etc. Of these the double point (*gemipunctus*), used (thus *.H.*) with single-letter suspensions (*sigla*), is a purely medieval feature, surviving later only as an archaism: the *single point* survives to our own time as a mark of abbreviation (occasionally even with contractions, as in *Mrs.*, and frequently with initials) and appears also, as we shall see, with superior letters: while what is probably an entire new-comer in the post-medieval period is the *colon*\* used after a suspension.

The *vertical line* of abbreviation naturally develops a great deal with the increased use of *suspension*: it forms by currency during the late fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries the sign *ε* which becomes associated particularly with the English terminations *-es* and *-is*, though not in origin a *special sign*:† and in a simpler form, often as a mere turning-down of the final stroke *g*, is particularly common in English

documents of the later fifteenth and the early sixteenth centuries on *d*, *f*, *g* and *k*; appearing also sometimes on *n* and *t* and even on *∫* *β*.‡ This use is an embarrassing

one for the transcriber because, though it undoubtedly becomes at times purely ornamental, particularly in the period of hair-strokes,§ one cannot (except in Latin documents) tell with certainty whether this is so in any given case or whether the scribe is masking a doubt as to the best termination to use:¶ nor can one be certain as to extensions (if any).‡ It was dying out slowly in the seventeenth century.

Parallel to this development we note also in the fifteenth century an increase of current forms in which a final letter is turned up to make the horizontal abbreviation line thus *𐝹* or in a modified form thus *𐝺* *ε*. This is used for *contraction*\*\* but more generally for *suspension*: and here again meaningless abbreviation is frequent. The same may be said of the thin straight line of abbreviation through *ll*, *h* (especially in the English name John), and *b*. It is made thus *ff* and became so regular in use that it was taken over by the early type-founders and we find it both

\* Even as a means of punctuation the colon is a new-comer (see below, Section XXIII): for examples of its use as an abbreviation see Plates XXI, XXX, XXXI, XXXIII, XLIV.

† See below an earlier result of the same method on the *2*-form of letter *r*.

‡ See, e.g., Plates XV, XVIII.



§ For examples of 'hair-stroke' abbreviations see Plates XXII, XXIII, XXXVI, XXXVII.

¶ See below, Section XXVII, ON RULES FOR TRANSCRIPTION.










‡ Particularly in the case of very common forms—participles in *-ed* or *-ing* and words like *man* or *of*.

\*\* for example in Plate XI.



in their work and in manuscripts in positions where no abbreviation could possibly have been intended. A final point to be noted in the later fifteenth century in the matter of suspensions and contractions is the development and free use of two new forms of the horizontal mark—a convex form, with or without dot , and another of a twisted shape . The curve-and-dot mark appears also occasionally as a kind of accent to distinguish *u* from *n*.\*

The use of the final flourish as a suspension may be seen gradually growing less during the later part of the sixteenth century (contrast, for example, Plates xxxi and xxxii with xxviii) even though settled spelling was very slow in coming. The same may be said of suspension in general: but an exception is furnished by the *sigla*. These obviously useful substitutes for well-known names or titles not only survived but added to their number;† *L.* for example (for *Lord* or *Lordship*) becoming quite common.

**SPECIAL SIGNS.** Most of the medieval signs persist—<sup>n</sup>=*-er-*: <sup>9</sup>=*con-*: <sup>7</sup>=*-us*: <sup>3</sup>=*-ue* (after *q*), *-us* (after *b*), or *-et*: the signs for *per* (<sup>p</sup>), *pr(a)e* (<sup>p</sup><sup>i</sup>) and *pro* (<sup>p</sup>): <sup>q2</sup> for *quia*: the *-er-* sign‡ used with long *f* (<sup>f</sup>; sometimes written carelessly <sup>f3</sup>): the so-called special sign for *-rum* (<sup>2</sup>; which is really only the *2*-form of *r* with a vertical line of suspension): and <sup>7</sup> or <sup>t</sup>, the Tironian *et*. The only tendencies which need be noted here as developing specially in our period are the popular right-hand twist of the tail which is seen in the *con-* and *-us* signs—thus  and the similar shaping of the <sup>3</sup> sign—; the combination of this last with *q* in the form ; the increasing use of the *ser* sign in a form often made very currently : the popular fifteenth century current forms of *pro*  (very confusable with a certain form of *x*) and *per* ; and the popularity of the Tironian *et* in a form  or  closely resembling the *2*-form of *r*. Other special developments connected with special hands may be seen in some of our Alphabets.§ The medieval sign for *est* (<sup>÷</sup> or <sup>÷</sup>) does not appear except as an archaism in that sense; but it had produced before our period a curious mark , resembling *S* abbreviated, which will be mentioned

\* Compare the accented *u* of modern German script: an example will be found among the Stonor Papers, c. 1486 (*Ancient Correspondence*, 46, Nos. 116, 117). See also, on the subject of ACCENTS, Section XXIII.

† See, for examples, Plate xxxii.

‡ In French documents this may stand also for any form of *sieur* or *seigneur*.

§ Note particularly those in Alphabets 1, 3, 15 and 16.

below.\* The ampersand (&) is partially revived by printing but not used to any great extent in current hands.

It is to be observed that these *special signs* are all (except **f**, which appears at first mainly in French) appropriate particularly to Latin and consequently appear but little in vernacular manuscripts. The chief exceptions to this are **f** (used for *sir* as well as the medieval *ser*, etc.); **3** (for *-et* or a longer syllable ending in those letters), which survives in our viz. for *videlicet*; **p** in a few commonly occurring words like *profit*; **p** signifying either *per-* or *par-*; the sign **e** for *-es* or *-is* already noted; and the Tironian *et*, which is the ancestor of various later abbreviations for *and*. Careless practice is sometimes noticed; the *-us* abbreviation, for example, being used for *-es*.† The use of these signs of abbreviation with *Italic* is comparatively rare, but occurs.

**SUPERIOR LETTERS.** Medievally any of the vowels (though *u* occurs rarely) may be written above the line to indicate the omission of that letter and another or others (generally, though not always, the omitted letter is *r* or *u*); thus *p<sup>i</sup>or* = *prior*, *q<sup>o</sup>* = *quo*, *m<sup>o</sup>* = *modo*; similarly *c*, *l* and *r* are placed above the line to intimate (generally) the omission of *-ec*, *-el* and *-ur*—as in *n<sup>c</sup>*, *u<sup>l</sup>* and *ducitr*. Of these *a* and, as a rule, *r* have special forms (see above, § VII) when used in the superior position, though the ordinary *2*-form of *r* is sometimes used.

All these uses continue post-medievally in Latin and occasionally in vernacular documents: and one or two forms of *a* and *r* are shewn in our Alphabets:‡ but a number of new uses also develop. In the first place there is the incalculable one which puts any letter above the line instead of on it, without omitting any other letter and apparently for the sole purpose of decoration.§ Then there is the well-known use, increasing in the fifteenth century, by which letters indicating scores (*xx*), hundreds (*C*) and thousands (*M*) are put above the number which multiplies them,|| *iiij<sup>c</sup>* standing for *CCCC* (400): with a further development by which, *Mille* being written *M<sup>l</sup>* or *M<sup>i</sup>*, we may get a three-storey number such as *iiij<sup>l</sup>* for 3000: even the abbreviations for pounds, shillings and pence may be thus interlineated—indeed this use becomes, after 1500, very general.

The most important development, however, is that of the modern use by which the middle of a word is omitted and one or more of the concluding letters are

\* Section XXI.

† Cp. Plate XXII.

§ Cp. Plates XXIV, XLIII.

‡ See Alphabets I and 3.

|| See also under NUMERALS (Section XXII).



placed above the line as in *Ma<sup>tie</sup>* for *Maiestie* or *Mr* for Master—a combination of the two old methods of *contraction* and *superior letters*. This use (though generally confined to certain well-known words) may be extended in any direction by individual taste: and this begins to occur quite early.\* It is to be noted that the superior letters may themselves be abbreviated (as in *Ma<sup>te</sup>* for *Maiesties*) and that with this method (which appears first with frequency in the early sixteenth century†) comes a habit (not regular but frequent) of placing a dot under the superior letters.

Finally we have to notice a certain carelessness or ignorance in the use of the superior letters, even in Latin documents. Examples of *r* used for *-er*, and even *-or* and *-ar*, occur not infrequently and *S<sup>r</sup>* for *Sir* is common. Similarly the well-known medieval abbreviation for *Summa* in accounts *S<sub>m</sub><sup>a</sup>* is sometimes altered to a superior *u* giving us *S<sup>u</sup>ma*‡ and a still more confusing use is that which mixes superior *r* with superior *u* so that a word may stand for either *you* or *your*. Other examples of loose practice might be multiplied from the mid-fifteenth century onwards.

LIGATURES, CONJOINED LETTERS AND ELISIONS. The word *Ligature* is used to cover those cases where two letters are combined by an extra stroke, as opposed to *conjoined letters* where two letters shew medially a single stroke which properly belongs to both, as in the diphthongs *Æ*, etc., of ordinary printing or the conjoined double *c* and *t*, double *d*, double *p*, double *s*, and even double *o* which will be found in some of our Alphabets§ and a few others which appear in the Plates.||

The *Ligatures* in use mediævally are those of *et* and *ft* which, as will be seen, may still be found in print. They survive after the mediæval period and examples will be found in practically all our Alphabets: the *ft*, carelessly made, is confusable with a certain form of *N*:¶ the *et* (confusable with a form of *a*¶) becomes less common in highly current hands because it involves some trouble in making.

To these has to be added a form of *Et* which involves sometimes conjoining and sometimes a ligature, and which becomes highly popular in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, especially in semi-formal *Accounts* and *Registers*. An

\* Some good examples are furnished by *Exchequer, K. R., Customs Accounts* (E. 122), 59/8, of 5 Richard II, where such abbreviations as *xij<sup>in</sup>* appear. Compare on this subject Gras, N. S. B., *The Early English Customs System* (Cambridge, U.S.A., 1918), p. 455. New types of superior letter will be found in (e.g.) Plates xxii, xxvii, xxxiii, xxxiv.

† See, e.g., Plate xiv: it does, however, occur earlier.

‡ An example will be found in *Exch., T. R., Misc. Books*, 8, which furnishes our Alphabet 3.

§ Alphabets 1, 2, 6, 12, 13, 16 to 20.

|| See, for example, *rr* in Plate xii: and compare the conjoined *do* in Fig. 2 below. Conjoined capitals such as *N* with *T*, or *T* with *R*, are rare but not unknown survivals in our period.

¶ See above, § vii.

# ABBREVIATIONS, LIGATURES, CONJOINED LETTERS AND ELISIONS

example taken from a Minister's Account of the reign of Henry VIII is given below; \* simpler ones will be found in two of the *Common Paper* Plates of an earlier date, † and a quantity of special *Pipe Roll* developments are seen in Plate xxxviii. Varieties of conjoined letters and ligatures may of course be produced at any time by the individual taste of particular writers and the Writing Masters' Books and the *Civilité* type (cp. Alphabet 6) shew that the practice was popular. The *Monogram* (a form of conjoining) is mentioned below. ‡

Note that in post-medieval Latin the *diphthong* for *ae* begins to reappear in Latin and, in the hands of a pedant, § in English words, such as *quæstions*, of obvious Latin origin. Note also the sixteenth century habit of *eliding* occasionally vowels, especially the final *e* of *the*, || and expressing the result in writing without an apostrophe ¶ (*thaccompt*) or sign of abbreviation.

\* Under DECORATION, Section xxvi.

† Plates iv, viii.

‡ Section xx.

§ Cp. above, p. 26.

|| See for examples Plates x, xxvi, xxviii, xxxiii.

¶ For the apostrophe see § xxiii below.



## NOTE

Before studying the following Sections descriptive of the Bastard and other Set Hands the student is recommended to glance again through that which describes (above, § VII) the ordinary ways of making the various letters. He may go on to examine in the Alphabets and other line-blocks the forms taken by individual letters in each of the hands now to be described, paying particular at-

tention to the travel of the pen in making them: in the description of each hand he will find some remarks upon specially notable forms. He may then follow each hand into some of the Plates listed at the head of each Section, note modifications from the copy and get an idea of the appearance of the hand when in use; which no Alphabet, or block of individual letters, can hope to give.

## X

### THE BASTARD HANDS

ALPHABETS: Nos. I and 2.

PLATES: (*Ordinary Bastard*) I (i.) and (ii.); IX (i.); XIX, heading; XXII (i.); XXVII (iii.); XXIX, headings; XXX (heading); XXXV (i.), (ii.) and (iii.).

(*Small*) II (i.); V (iii.); XXII (i.); XXIII (i.), (ii.) and (iv.).

(*Rough*) II (iii.); IV (i.); VI (ii.); VII (ii.); VIII (i.); X (ii.); XXII (ii.); XXIV (i.); XXV (ii.); XXIX (first draft); XXXIX (ii.); XLI (i.) and (ii.).

Note that Plates shewing transition from Bastard to other hands will be listed in later Sections.

NAME AND GENERAL CHARACTER. The reason for adopting this name has already been explained (see above, § II). It is found in connection with writing much earlier in France than I have yet seen it in England, being used a number of times in the inventories of the library of Charles V made between 1411 and 1424:\* not only is it used there to describe a particular hand but we have also distinctions—one book is *partie de lettre bastarde et partie de lettre de forme*† and another *partie de lettre courant et partie de lettre bastarde*.‡ Unfortunately the MSS. thus described have not been traced, but it seems fairly clear that the *bastarde* occupies a middle position between *lettre de forme* (*Text*) and purely current writing. Moreover, it is normally a large hand—there is particular mention when it is *menuement escript*. The first French Writing Master's Book, a hundred years later,§ confirms this; for his *Bastarde* is the same as what we propose to call *Bastard*: though later writers,|| copying the Spanish fashion, apply the word to a form of *Italic*. In Italy the writing we know as *Bastard* is called *Francese*. It is possible that the fashion—though it was widespread in Europe—was recognized as a French speciality: and not improbable, that this country copied it from France in the late fourteenth century.

\* The inventory of 1424, collated with that of 1411, was published by Douet d'Arcq for the *Société des Bibliophiles* at Paris in 1867: and Delisle combined these with that of 1413 in his *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V* (Paris, 1907). I have to thank Mr J. P. Gilson and Mr G. R. Potter for directing my atten-

tion to these. Delisle (part i, p. 43) lists the names of writings used.

† *Ibid.*, part ii, No. 923.

‡ *Ibid.* No. 801.

§ Tory, Geoffroy, *Champ Fleury*: Paris, 1529.

|| e.g. Materot and Senault.

In England, though examples of its use are not yet numerous,\* the word, when it does occur, seems always to be applied to the same variety of writing.

In any case the word would seem to be applied normally to writings which are (1) large and (2) a cross, or compromise, between two other well-known styles: and from this point of view its divergent use in different countries is quite understandable. In England, starting with the late fourteenth century, the *Bastard* is at once the most formal of business hands and the least formal of literary ones: it may be either a *Text Hand* with an admixture of *Court Hand* forms or a *Court Hand* with some of the features of *Text*. It should be emphasized that, as a Business hand, *Bastard* may appear in this country in absolutely any type of document, Public, Ecclesiastical or Private: its use is common, though decreasing, throughout the fifteenth and well into the sixteenth century.

CHIEF CHARACTERISTICS. These, as seen (for instance) in the Chertsey Abbey *Cartulary* of 1432,<sup>†</sup> from which our first Alphabet is taken—a good, almost an extreme specimen—are as follows: (1) comparative, but not exact, regularity; its main strokes are meant to be all vertical and parallel, but are not: (2) the long tapering stroke below the line; which may be made either, as in long *f* or *f*, by the original method of bringing the pen up again from the foot to form a serif on the head, or by pen-pressure; this, of course, implying a change of penmanship: (3) lack of currency; comparatively few letters are tied to others and internally the use of a number of separate strokes in a single letter (as in the typical *g*) is not uncommon; but this does not prevent the use of forms (as in *e* and the long *r*) which originated in extreme currency: (4) angularity in the back of what are elsewhere rounded letters (*a*, *B*, *C*, *d*, *e*, etc.): (5) angularity in straight strokes, made either by bending the stroke to the left (at the head) and right (at the foot) (as in *i*, *m*, *n*, etc.) or by addition of an actual short foot (as in some forms of *l*, *N*, *r*, etc.), or again by the addition of a right-handed angular hook at the head of tall strokes: (6) its normal size is medium to large, as here and in Plates 1 and xxxv (i.), (ii.) and (iii.), which are good average specimens.

Of course different examples, during its long history, will combine these characteristics in different proportions.

FORMS OF LETTERS. Little need be added, for the study of Alphabet 1, to what

\* Good examples are found in accounts of St John's College, Cambridge, in reference to the copying of the Statutes, 1524–1537.

† *Exchequer, K. R., Miscellaneous Books*, 25: see my note in an Introduction to the edition by the Surrey Record Society, p. vii.



has already been said above and in § VII: note, however, particularly the forms of *d*, *g* and *l*; the alternative forms of *p*, *q*, *r* (particularly the third *r*, with foot) and *s*; the *r*, *ser*, *-us* and *et* abbreviations and the hair-stroke suspension marks added to *k*, etc.; the forms of *B*, *C*, *E*, *N*, *S* and *T*; and the decoration by single or double vertical lines and by central dot (as in *P*).

**DISTINCTION FROM TEXT.** Of the distinction between the names and uses of the two writings and between their professional exponents we have already spoken. The most obvious distinguishing marks in form and style are that the *Text* exactly reverses a number of the characteristics of *Bastard* noted above—its main strokes are vertical, regular and parallel, it eschews the tapering stroke, it avoids not only external currency in writing but also the typical current forms—such as those of *e*, long *r*, *s* and many of the capitals—which characterize the *Bastard Hands*. *Bastard*, on the other hand, in its most formal moments borrows from *Text* its habit of making individual letters, and even strokes, separately and its short minims with the angles at head and foot which tend to correct, as it were, any inclination away from the vertical; and drops some of its more characteristically current forms. Thus in Plates xxxv and xxxviii several *Text* characteristics may be detected; and in our Chertsey Alphabet many of the capitals (*B*, for example, and *T*) choose non-current forms.

In this connection we may emphasize again the frequent impossibility of drawing now rigid lines which were not recognized at the time the writing was done: the formal administrative document would naturally be in *Bastard*, but the writer had frequently a touch of *Text* in his methods; the literary document might be expected to be in *Text* but the writers, unless they were bound very strictly by the conditions of their employment, as in the case of liturgical writings, tended to lapse into easier and rougher forms. Along with this must be mentioned the very strongly marked tendency, from the earliest period, to treat literary works in the vernacular as things of lesser importance: just as the new types of administrative documents which are expressed in English tend to decline from *Bastard* into *Free Hands*, so do the parallel cases among literary writings decline from *Text* into *Bastard*, sometimes of a very poor kind. This can easily be tested by an examination of any large series of literary works in English; for example, of 21 MSS. of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* at the British Museum not one is without *Bastard* features and many are in hands which might equally well have been used for *Court Rolls*, *Accounts*, *Private Letters*, *Warrants* and other Records of different degrees of formality.

## THE BASTARD HANDS

INTERMEDIATE FORMS. In addition to the infinite opportunities for small variation afforded by this middle position of the *Bastard* between administrative and literary practice, the student must think of it also as parent of a swarm of hands growing more and more free, in a descending scale of slovenliness, but none of them without some trace of the *Bastard* characteristics and none having sufficient character to be grouped as a separate school: any fifteenth century collection is full of such hands. Here again an exact line cannot be drawn between hands which may be described as *Rough Bastard* (see some of the examples listed above) and *Free Hands*: one can only indicate that so far as they have any traceable ancestry they may be attributed to a debased copy derived ultimately from the better *Bastard* forms with which we began. The point is of some importance because, as is suggested elsewhere,\* the survival of certain very rough local representatives of the *Bastard* in the fifteenth century may be used as evidence of the kind of teaching available in that period.

LATER MODIFICATIONS. In addition to the Plates mentioned at the head of this section the *Bastard* of the late fifteenth century may be studied in a not infrequent crabbed, exaggeratedly angular form which is seen in Fig. 56 below. It also comes out interestingly in the type to which the same name is given, which the early Printers (following the MS. convention) mainly reserved for printing books in the vernacular: in the annexed small example of this, from Caxton's *Liber Festiualis*,† it will be noted that for quotations in Latin he drops into pure *Text*. Of course the early types do not reproduce very well the finer lines made by the pen in written *Bastard* and contain a higher percentage of *Text* forms: but the characteristic tapering long *s* and *f*, the *A*, the current *x* and the hair stroke of abbreviation through *h* and *ll* will be noticed.

hym wyth loue/ And shall saye  
to theym/ Venite bñdicti pñs  
mei possidite paratum vobis  
regnũ. & Math xxv / Come ye  
blessyd of my fader take possessi-  
on of the kyngdom of heven to be

Fig. 1

In our second complete Alphabet (from Baildon's book of 1571) one or two variations of form from the Chertsey model will be observed: for example, the disappearance of the headed *a* and the long *r*, and the alteration of the hooked top to tall letters. The pronounced slope on some letters is also noticeable: but this must not be too much emphasized—slope is a characteristic which comes and goes. Allowance must further be made for the roughness of the block—Baildon does not

\* Below, § XII. See also § VI above.

† Signature *S.j.*, *recto*. For the whole question of

Caxton's use of the *Bastard* see de Ricci, S., *A Census of Caxtons*: Bibliographical Society, 1909.



use engraving. On the whole the similarity of letter-form and of method is striking: note, for example, how the very awkward *g* has survived; and other similarities are only a little less obvious.

With this Alphabet and the Caxton specimen may be compared an example from the reign of Henry VIII;\* the student may exercise himself by picking out in this resemblances to both the *Bastard* examples and to *Text*, but should note specially the form of *r*, of which we shall have more to say later.† The *s* both in this and in Baidon is a form explained above.‡

Finally we have from a late Muster Roll (1569)§ a list of equipment (*Longebowes, Blackebilles, Corcelettes, Calevers, Harquebuzes, Currioures*) by way of example of a rough, upright *Bastard* of late date. Note particularly the current forms of *c*, *C*, *e*, *g*, long *r* and *w*; and the survival of the curious 3 form of *r* in *Corcelettes* (compare this with an actual *z* in *Harquebuzes*), of the headed *a* and of the sigma form of *s*: note also the curious formal *b* in *Harquebuzes* and the capital *L*.

Before going on to the derivatives of *Bastard* the student should now examine the Plates listed above. But in order to have them all together we may mention these derivatives here: they are the fifteenth century *Splayed Hands*, the sixteenth century *Secretary*, the *Engrossing Hand* derived from the *Secretary*, all the *Special Set Hands*, and all the *Free Hands* of the fifteenth century.

\* From *Exch., T. R., Misc. Books*, 92, p. 16 (Statutes of the Order of the Garter).

† See § XIII.

‡ § VII.

§ From *State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth*, 65, No. 1.

statuz et ordonnances du tresnoble  
ordre de la Jarretiere Reformez expla-  
nez et declairz de nouveau p treshault

Fig. 2

Longebowes  
Blackebilles  
Corcelettes  
Calevers  
Harquebuzes  
Currioures

Fig. 3

# XI

## THE SET HANDS OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

ALPHABETS: Nos. 3 and 4.

PLATES: v (ii.); vi (iv.); ix (ii.); xxiii (iii.), (iv.) and (vi.); xxvi.

Note that Plates shewing transition from this to Free Hands and to the Secretary will be listed in later sections.

Apart from the *Bastard* and the *Special Hands* the only characteristic *Set Hand* which the fifteenth century produced was what I shall venture to call, for lack of a better name, the *Splayed Hand*. Its distinguishing marks are the size—small to medium—the exclusion of extreme angular forms, especially in the smaller letters, and the trick by which short strokes are inclined alternately left and right. This last is seen particularly in *i*, *m*, *n* and *u*, the minims in which are sloped to the left while the connecting strokes between them incline, of course, to the right, the two forming the apex of something very near to an isosceles triangle, as in the annexed example.\* A secondary characteristic (resulting from the above) is that letters are vertically smaller

*in this behalve by cause of noon' execucion*  
Fig. 4

and horizontally larger; so that they appear smaller but take up equal room on the line. This undoubtedly favoured (or marked) the growth of a new and very important idea—that of a hand which even in its copy-book state was small; and in this respect the *Splayed Hand* of the fifteenth century was father of the sixteenth century *Secretary*; to which it also led the way by its development of certain current forms. On the other hand its writers have not mastered the secret of the fine stroke in a small space and the script is consequently clumsy and blotty in effect. Note further that this writing introduces us to the exaggerated long stroke below the line and (often in combination with this) the exaggerated right-handed slope of the same letters (a fair example will be seen in Plate xxiii (vi.)): and here again is the father of marked characteristics in certain *Secretary Hands*, especially of the later period.† This sloping of the long strokes of letter *p* and one or two others is not to be confused with the general right-handed slope finally brought in by the *Italic*.‡

In Plate xxiii I have endeavoured to shew, by means of a series of documents from a single source, the evolution of this hand out of a small writing of the *Bastard*: and this may be seen also in a number of Plates from the *Common Paper*—e.g. Plate iv (ii.) and (iv.); cp. also v (ii.) and vi (iv.). It will be noted that signs of this

\* From *Treasury of Receipt, Council and Privy Seal* (E. 28), 63/4, dated 19 Sept. 18 Hen. VII. The words are *in this behalve by cause of noon' execucion*:

note the thorn in *this*.

† See below, §§ xiii, xv.

‡ See below, § xiv.



style begin to appear quite early, but the finished product is not found till later in the century, being typical of the reigns of Edward IV and Henry VII. Once established it remains widely popular for a long time and Alphabets 3 and 4 have been compiled from an Ordnance Account of Henry VII\* and a Monastic Deed *temp.* Henry VIII:† the latter giving us the final stage before *Secretary*. To the reign of Henry VII belong also the three documents seen in Plate xxvi; with which may be compared Plate ix, of 1492, from the *Common Paper*. It will be observed that the writing at its latest period tended to become larger and clumsier; and this form survives throughout the reign of Henry VIII (cp. Plate xxvii) and overlaps the finer *Secretary* which succeeded it.

The *Forms of the Letters* offer little that is radically new but such novelties as are found are important. We may note in Alphabet 3, beside the disappearance of angles and other characteristics already named, the full development of current *e*; an increased currency in *g* and *h*; the second *p*, in which the lower part of the long stroke is made last; the second *r*, with foot carried up to form the final dash on the right, and two sigma forms of *s*. In Alphabet 4 these are all carried a stage further; reaching, in fact, practically to the typical *Secretary* forms. The *e* of this alphabet, a refinement on the preceding form, has been described already.‡

Returning to Alphabet 3 we note particularly among the abbreviations the typical flourished *r*, the *ser* abbreviation and the *thorn* with a superior *e* which, for any meaning it has, might equally well have been on the line. Among the capitals we note the current forms of *C*, of *R* and of the second *T* and the two forms of *v*. Capitals, however, here and elsewhere, develop more slowly than the minuscule letters.

Note in Alphabet 4 the abbreviated *d*, the possible confusion of *p*<sup>l</sup> and *p*<sup>i</sup>, the position of the *-ue* abbreviation on *q*, the *ser* abbreviation and the slope on long strokes below the line.

\* From *Exchequer, T. R., Miscellaneous Books*, 8.

† From *Exchequer, Augmentations, Deeds of Surrender*, 182.

‡ Above, § II.

## XII

### FREE HANDS OF THE FIFTEENTH AND EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURIES

PLATES: (*First Group*) IX (iii.); XXIV (ii.). (v.); XXIV (iv.); XLI (iii.).  
 (*Second Group*) XII (iii.); XXIV (iii.); XXVII (ii.) and (vi.). (*Fourth Group*) XI (i.); XXV (i.) and (iii.).  
 (*Third Group*) II (ii.); VI (i.); VII (i.); XII (i.); XXIII (v.); XXIV (iv.); XLI (iii.). (*Fifth Group*) XI (ii.); XIII (i.); XXVIII.

From their name and nature these must be hands which cannot be represented by Alphabets. They might also be expected to defy classification; and certainly no exact ranging can be attempted: I have, however, ventured to set out above some examples according as they seem to illustrate best one or another of the broad characteristics which distinguish fifteenth century writings, however free: of these we may give a short description: the forms of the letters the student must work out for himself from those *Set Hands* of which they are debased renderings. Let us say at the outset that all are hopelessly irregular in penmanship.

The *First Group* is no more than a continuation of that of *Rough Bastard Hands*, specimens of which we discussed in § x, above. They are worth a little separate study because they form a link between these and those which are to come later; and for another reason which will appear below. We may also note the curious and rather inexplicable appearance from time to time of rough local hands (isolated examples) which have a quite definite right-hand slope of all letters.\*

Very much the same might be said of the *Second Group*. I have set them out separately because they shew something of that tendency to backward slope in certain minims which produced what I have called the splayed hand of the fifteenth century; and so serve as a link between that hand and others of the same period. What happened when (but it does not occur often) backward slope was carried to its logical extreme is shewed by the annexed illustration.†

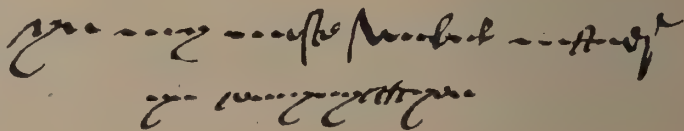


Fig. 5

In a sense it might be said that the chief characteristic of these hands is that they are bad writing. But that is much more the case with regard to the *Third Group*, of which Plates XII (i.), XXIII (v.) and XLI (iii.) are typical specimens. These represent a hand, or rather a style, which is familiar to me in fifteenth century

\* Only moderate examples are shewn in the present work (e.g., Plate XXIV (ii.)): a really remarkable instance of the year 1334/5 was noted recently in *Chancery, Inquisitions, Miscellaneous*, 124/23, m. 2.

† From *State Papers, Henry VIII*, 125, f. 247. The words written are *Yn my moste Vmbul maner* and *yn comynycacyon*.



documents of all kinds, but for which I can find no single covering epithet.\* It is a style bad in every way except one in which a writing can be bad; unsteady—the writing of men who had never acquired a good technique—mean in the proportions of its letters, unpredictable in the irregularity of its strokes as regards their length, thickness and variation from the vertical, appearing to choose inevitably the ugliest form, when there is any choice, for every letter: typical of it are the absurd *T* in Plate xxiii (v.), where the vertical decoration gets only half-way down, or the *I* immediately preceding this, with its weak attempt at ornament and wavering curve in what should be a vertical line. The curious thing is that there is so much sameness about this style that one should be able, nearly, to make a class of it and call it a *Set Hand*: indeed its appearance in quite formal series, such as that of the *Receipt Rolls*,† would almost suggest that writing was actually taught in this form.

It represents one result of the last and lowest stage in the history of the teaching of writing, when the volume of work to be done, and consequently the number of learners, had enormously increased without any corresponding increase in teaching facilities or invention of new models.‡ One must imagine learners in the mid-fifteenth century (this writing belongs to the reign of Henry VI though it goes on much later) being taught normally some form of the large *Bastard*. After this two things might happen. On the one hand in the country districts, and in the hands of writers who got little practice, this original would produce a hand growing a little rougher and coarser with every generation that copied and handed it on: a tolerably good writing copied by a series of inefficient and badly-trained writers. On the other hand, if the learners went on to a big office and much writing they felt the need for a small, rapid copying-hand; and in the later part of the fifteenth century this need produced, as we have seen, the *Splayed* small hand, the immediate predecessor of the small set *Secretary* of the sixteenth century: but before the splayed hand is reached we have to go through a period during which penmanship and taste in writing were at their lowest ebb and combined probably with a general slackness in office discipline and confusion in administrative method. The result was the development of this style, which possessed every fault except illegibility: a thoroughly bad style written by not incompetent writers.

\* The nearest is 'sloppy,' which lacks scientific dignity.

† A good specimen of the kind is in *Court Hand Illustrated*, Plate xxxix. The size and arrangement of the roll make it clear that a very formal record

was intended. It offers, by the way, good evidence also of the confusion in administrative method at this time.

‡ See above, § vi.

One of the few generally outstanding features in writings in this group is a strong tendency to an inclination (one can hardly call it a slope) to the right often accompanied (as before) by exaggeration of long strokes below the line; another is the not infrequent suggestion of a square end to what, in the *Bastard*, would be tapering strokes below the line; and another is the comparative length of the long strokes owing to the extreme shortness of many of the others. All these may be seen in a greater or less degree in the Plates listed above.

It would be interesting to see how far such writings appeared in other countries and under what circumstances.

Finally we have at the end of the century the *Free Hands* which I have endeavoured to illustrate in the *Fourth* and *Fifth Groups*: the result of all the tendencies we have been noticing. First there is a very highly current small-to-medium hand associated particularly with Merchants' use in the late fifteenth century as it appears in the Cely and Stonor Papers (Plate xxv (i.) is a good example).<sup>\*</sup> This, derived presumably from a much debased *Bastard* copy, slopes to the right, has all the highly current letter-forms, including the final development of current *h*, and tends to the slovenly habit of flattening out a succession of short letters till they are merged in a single wavily-horizontal line broken at intervals by the longer letters. This type of writing is of course much more difficult to read (especially as it is used frequently in informal private letters and the like) than the hands so much criticized in the preceding paragraph: but it does not give the same impression of having no character. It results from haste and carelessness rather than bad taste: one feels, as one sometimes does in the case of modern writers, but as one did not above, that the men who produced this script could write quite well if they liked.

The second of these two later groups has the same main characteristics as the first but is a larger, much bolder and more angular writing, with a more pronounced slope to the right and a frequent tendency to exaggeration of long strokes below the line.<sup>†</sup> It continues to appear down to a date well on in the sixteenth century (Plate xxviii of the reign of Henry VIII is a good example) and its influence is still more long-lived, appearing not only in *Secretary Hands* but even in those with a strongly *Italic* character.<sup>‡</sup>

<sup>\*</sup> Cp. *Court Hand Illustrated*, Plate xlii (b).

<sup>†</sup> The increasing occurrence of these characteristics in the hands we have been examining should be care-

fully noted.

<sup>‡</sup> Cp. the letter from Walsingham shewn in Plate xxxii (ii.).



# XIII

## THE SECRETARY HANDS

ALPHABETS: Nos. 5 to 9.

PLATES: (*Transitional and Early Forms*) xiv (i.) and (iii.) to (v.); xv (i.); xvi (ii.), (iii.) and (v.); xxvii (iv.). (*Upright*) xviii (v.); xx (iii.) and (iv.); xxi (v.); xxxi (i.); xxxiii (ii.); xxxvii (i.) and (ii.). (*Large Upright and Engrossing*) xix; xxx.

(*Sloped*) xvii (i.) and (ii.); xx (v.), (vi.) and (vii.); xxxi (ii.); xxxvii (iii.). (*Small Current*) xiv (ii.); xv (ii.); xvii (iii.) and (iv.); xx (ii.) and (v.); xxxiii (i.). (*Free*) xviii (i.) and (iii.); xxix (latest hand); xxxii (i.); xxxiv (i.).

THE NAME. The word 'Secretary' was apparently not much used to mean a writer except in Royal business during the medieval period. The Tudors, by elevating the position of Secretary of State, brought the word into prominence but its increased use is probably more attributable to the increased use of writing everywhere which led to many people imitating the Royal custom of keeping a confidential servant for the special purpose of their personal correspondence: Lady Lisle's letters to her husband, for example, of which we have a specimen in Plate xxvii, are written by another hand; and the habit of using a servant's hand for intimate letters conceived in the first person grows common in the sixteenth century: in such cases the word would be very applicable; and before the end of the century it had grown quite usual.\* Simultaneously came those new methods in the teaching and practice of hand-writing of which we have spoken;† and the advent of the Writing Master. I know of no example of the application of the word to a form of hand-writing mediævally, but the first of our Writing Masters and several of his successors,‡ not to mention other writers,§ use it unmistakably for whatever might be the popular variety at the moment of the small *Set Hand* which was ordinarily used by ordinary people. When in course of time the *Italic*, with a slight admixture of *Secretary* forms, ousted (as we shall see) the older style, *Secretary* came to be applied to a debased survival of a semi-formal kind which may be found in the cheap general-knowledge books of the eighteenth century: at the same time the old general term *Court Hand* came by its late application to *Legal Hands* only. But for our purposes the *Secretary* is the new small *Set Hand* whose rise may be traced in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, with all the modifications of it which go on appearing till late in the seventeenth.

\* A book of the 'polite letter-writer' order, published in 1586 by Angel Daye, is called *The English Secretarie*.

† Above, § vi.

‡ e.g. Billingsley (1618), Cocker (1660), Gery (1670), Ayres (1698) and Jerman (1723).

§ Cp. in Wallace, M. W., *Life of Sir Philip Sidney* (Cambridge, 1915), an Account dated 1565 for three example bookes for the secretarie hande.... Note also Platte, Sir Hugh, *The Jewell House of Art and Nature* (1594), p. 41.

THE FIRST ROUGH SECRETARY HAND. In English Series, for instance that of the *State Papers*, which begin with Henry VIII, the hands derived from the fifteenth century *Set Hands* (especially the 'splayed' one) begin about 1530\* to give way to a new variety. This is distinguished principally by its technique; the letters being better proportioned, their lines steadier, the exaggerated taper much decreased and the unimportant strokes (the diagonal connecting strokes between minims) much finer; but there are also certain important and characteristic letter-forms, which will be detailed below. This hand probably owes something to the foreign models which were now becoming known in Writing Masters' books. The size is small to medium and there is clearly no larger copy-book form: but the student's hand was no doubt trained very often by writing of the larger styles, such as *Bastard*. There is generally a tendency to right slope in the long letters below the line; the rest vertical as a rule, but if they slope at all sloping right.

All through the second half of the sixteenth century this hand was being improved: and we may distinguish broadly during this period between two versions, the upright and the sloped: note, by the way, that from this time on we have a constant variation in size from small to medium in all varieties of the *Secretary*.

THE UPRIGHT SECRETARY HANDS. This form is generally also rounded—the angular look of Baildon's example in Alphabet 5 must not be taken too seriously, because it was printed from a block, not an engraving. An exceptionally good small example—probably the writing of a professional scrivener—is seen in Plate xxxi (i.) but large numbers of writers produced a neat enough script as may be seen from the other Plates, from Alphabet 6 and by comparison of the words written into the annexed example† of *Secretary* printed from the type usually called *Civilité*. The existence of this type probably did much to keep the upright *Secretary* in use. It was invented in 1557 by Robert Granjon, of Lyons, but owed a good deal of its popularity to its immediate adoption by Plantin§ at Antwerp. The varieties

Fig. 6‡

\* In the *Common Paper* the transitional hands are in evidence from about 1520 to 1550 and the *Secretary* from 1550 onwards.

† From *Exchequer, K. R., Victuallers' Recognizances* (E. 180), 105, of 1600.

‡ This passage reads as follows (the words here italicized are in writing in the original, the remainder

printed from type): 'the fourth day of Aprill next [...] now dwelleth at s't Katherins in the [...] Countie. If therefore the sayd ffrauncis [...] at the Cardes, Dice, Tables, Quoits,'.

§ See Sabbe, Maurits, *Les Caractères de Civilité de Robert Granjon...* Lyons, 1921.



of *Civilité* which were in use in England have never been traced: it was not as popular as it might have been in Public Administration here owing to the strength of convention and vested interests but there was evidently plenty of it.\*

ENGROSSING HANDS. The existence of the upright *Secretary Hand* led to a curious development by which the *Bastard* was gradually replaced by what is undoubtedly the *Secretary*, with all its characteristic forms, written large. The development may be seen in progress in Plate xxx, both in the heading and in the body of the document, but the final outcome was a medium-size very much rounded script as in

Item one foreparte of white Satten enbrodered w<sup>t</sup> Roses acrones and  
other flowers allouer of Nedleworke w<sup>t</sup> a needelworke border of sondrye  
beast and trees of venice golde syluer and sylke of sondrie colo.<sup>rs</sup>

T. Buchurst

Fig. 7†

the accompanying example and Plate xix of the late sixteenth century‡ or Alphabet 8 of the mid-seventeenth.§ It was called by the Masters sometimes *Engrossing* or *Engrossing Secretary*|| and sometimes (when the old pure *Secretary* current hand was going out) *Secretary*.

THE SMALL SLOPED SECRETARY HANDS. The second achievement of the writers of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was the perfecting of a slightly sloped hand, which, besides being very small, was deliberately designed for current writing. 'I am of opinion,' says one of them,¶ 'that although in the writing of some *Hands* (as of the *Sett Secretary* and some other) it be now and then tollerable to take 'off the pen in conjunction of the letters, for the more formall writing therof: yet that 'in the *Facill*, but especially in the *Fast Secretary* it is so injurious to the perfection of clerk-like writing, that I cannot free him that useth it, from the imputation

\* See my Article on *English Current Writing and Early Printing* (Bibliographical Society, *Transactions*, 1916). I know of only three classes of Public Records where it occurs: but it was used also in other Administrative connections, e.g. in Bishops' Registries. For the whole subject of Printing Types imitating Script see Morison, S., in *The Fleuron*, 1925.

† This passage reads *Item one foreparte of white Satten enbrodered w<sup>t</sup> Roses acrones and other flowers allouer of Nedleworke w<sup>t</sup> a needelworke border of son-*

*drye beastes and trees of venice golde syluer and sylke of sondrie colo<sup>rs</sup>*. [signed] T. Buchurst: flourishes fill up the lines.

‡ From *Exchequer, L. R., Misc. Books (L. R. 2)*, 121, f. 48; being an inventory of Queen Elizabeth's jewels and robes.

§ From Cocker, *The Pen's Triumph*, of 1658.

|| This title is used, for example, by Cocker (1660), Weston (1682), Shelley (1709), and Clark (1714).

¶ Billingsley, M., *A Coppie Booke...*, 1637.

‘of a meere Botcher.’ This creation of a currency in writing which was not only deliberate on the part of the writer but a matter of instruction by the teacher (a method against which we are at present in reaction) was the last step in the transition from Medieval to Modern: with it went a combining of the two hands, *Secretary* and *Italic*, but that must be dealt with in a separate section.

CURRENCY AND PENMANSHIP. The conception of an ideal of currency did not lead to the disappearance of *Free Hands*. These might be very small and illegible (though not unbeautiful) as in Plates xxxii (i.) and xxxiv (i.), or large, rough and bold with something of the character of a *Free Hand* which we have seen already at the beginning of the sixteenth century, but following in their forms (so far as these can be discerned) many of the *Secretary* conventions, as in Plates xviii (iv.) and xxxii (ii.): this large script, however, has generally something of the *Italic* in it as well.

Note that the penmanship of the *Secretary Hand* never ceased to be to some extent oblique at least in hold and different from that of the *Italic*.\* Oblique cutting probably tended to be omitted (it was more difficult with a fine pen) and the resulting pen-angle was generally low.

THE FORMS OF THE SECRETARY LETTERS. Our first *Secretary* Alphabet (No. 5),† and to some extent No. 7 also, suffer, as has been explained, from a lack of skill in the block-maker and have an unnaturally angular effect: but they give us reasonably well the essential forms of the hand. In No. 5 we have the *e* which is a last refinement from the most current form of that letter; *g* is typical; *h* is only just beginning to approach its final form in which the first and third strokes will be practically continuous; *p* is in its final stage in which a *v* is written and its last limb curled over to the left and carried down to make the lower part of what should be the first limb of the *p*, but this does not come out well in the block here reproduced: the same remark applies to *r*, whose first stroke is written twice, once downward to the left of the horizontal foot and once up from the right of it—a form which, evolved in the late fifteenth century, became the most typical of *Secretary* letters and still survives in German script: *x*, made in one action like *p*, is also typical.

Alphabet 6, taken from a document of 1600‡ printed in *Civilité*, repeats all the above characteristics, adding (what Baildon does not give) the 2-form of *r*, the sigma *s* (a very typical *Secretary* form) and the *v*. It shews a good many more than 26 types, having not only a number of ligatures (*gh* and *sh*, for example, as well

\* See below, § xiv.

† From Baildon's book (1571).

‡ *Exchequer, King's Remembrancer, Victuallers' Recognizances* (E. 180), 105; used also for Fig. 6 above.



as the ordinary *ct* and *st*) but also special forms for special positions such as the final *e*. Note also the short *p*. Among the capitals note *A*, well on towards a modern form; *B*, a reversion to something slightly nearer the original than most medieval forms; *C* on the other hand a one-action letter and in contrast with this the uncurrent *T*; the re-invention of *L*; the use of the simplest *M* and a less simple *N*; the *R* with its last limb coming down to the line; and *S*, a sigma form but approximating more to the *Roman*.

Alphabet 7\* dates from 1637. It displays in the small letters no very great differences from its predecessors but is from an engraving, so that one or two letters, such as *p* and *r*, come out better. Note the *m* with long preliminary spur. The capitals are rather more elaborate: *A* makes a further approach to a modern style but most of the rest retain the old forms and are chiefly marked by their continual introduction of the angle. Note the grouping of the capitals according to shape and in two places the introduction of a single first stroke to shew the student how letters (*B* and *L*) should be made.

Alphabet 8† gives us the *Engrossing Secretary* as executed by Cocker in 1658. This shews forms all of which we have seen in the preceding two, with which it should be compared: compare also the example of *Engrossing* in action (above, Fig. 7). Its distinguishing feature is its fine work—the hair-stroke seen in several letters and in general the marked contrast between thick and thin.

In Alphabet 9 we have an example of the writing of the famous John Davies of Hereford.‡ Here again similarities of form are very strong: among the capitals, for instance, there is no real change, though one or two (*T*, for example, with the upward twirl of its top part) shew new tendencies. The small letters re-introduce the most current form of *e*, have a simpler *g* and shew two forms (one of the most developed currency) for *h*; they produce two forms of *p*, a short and a long, a modern *q*, a highly current long *s*, a new short *s* made with the same action as the long (this in addition to the sigma form) and a modern *y*: moreover there is throughout a distinct suggestion of slope, and the script is extremely small. Some of these characteristics shew the influence of *Italic* (it is seen, for instance, in the forms of *f*, *g*, the first *h* and the second *s*): but the real characteristic which informs the hand is that of deliberate currency. On the other hand the capitals, with their tortured elaboration, give a hint of the reason for its decay.

\* From Billingsley, M., *A Coppie Book*...: 1637.

† From *The Pen's Triumph*: 1658.

‡ *The Writing Schoolemaster*... (first pub. 1633 according to D.N.B.).

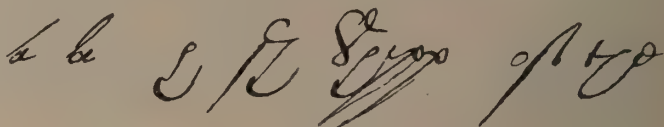
SPECIAL MODIFICATIONS. Apart from the mixture with *Italic* (to be mentioned separately below) these are mainly alterations of style rather than form. There are periodical outbreaks of the fashion of exaggerated long stroke below the line, as appears in the annexed illustration\* of 1626 and in a number of our Plates,† and towards the end we notice a definite increase in size. There are, however, a certain number of new forms, notably the spurred letters;‡ *a*, which begins from the top, being spurred above the line (as here) and others like *m* (see Alphabet 9) from below it. Other exaggerated long letters are often accompanied by an exaggeratedly short *p*. Further features are the extreme form of *h* and the curious new *S*,  both seen in Fig. 8, and a singular *r*,§ apparently an *Italic* form with the foot added from the old *Bastard* letter, or perhaps an *Italic* modification of the typical *Secretary* form,|| which is not very frequent but recurs over a long period. Growing exaggeration in the typical forms of certain capitals¶ has already been mentioned.

Fig. 8

Fig. 9

\* From *Privy Council Registers* (P. C. 2), 33, f. 374.

The words and letters are *a a h sh shipp of the*.

† e.g. Plates xxi (ii.) and (iv.), xxxi (ii.) and (iii.), xxxii (i.) and (ii.) and xxxiii (i.).

‡ Examples in Plates x, xv, xvii, xix and xx and in Fig. 10 below.

§ From *State Papers, Ireland*, 48, of 1574.

|| Cp. Plate xxxi (ii.).

¶ Good specimens of capitals will be found (e.g.) in Plate xvi. An useful compilation from forms found in the Writing Masters' Books was published in the *Review of English Studies*, Jan. 1927 by R. B. McKerrow.



## XIV

### THE *ITALIC* AND *ROMAN* HANDS

On the subject of the développement of the *Italic Hand* in England and elsewhere there is still much to be said; but we must not take space to say it here. The fundamental facts are that it developed first in Italy in the fifteenth century as a current rendering of that reformed writing which we now call *Roman*; which itself derives directly from the old *Caroline Minuscule* and which is represented fairly enough by the type of this book: that this attempt at currency, which was made by inclining the *Roman* to the right and adding ties between strokes (and later between letters), produced an entirely new feature—a slope which was as uniform as was the vertical in the strictest of the older hands—and in this profoundly influenced all current hands that came after it; that it received a *cachet* when it was adopted officially by the Papal Chancery in 1431 (whence its Italian name, *Cancelleresca*);\* and that the essential points in its form were fixed when Aldus based a new type on it in 1501:† that in the matter of style it passed through a number of phases in the hands of the early Writing Masters,‡ losing its first angularity and something of its narrowness, tending to additional currency and adopting from time to time certain other marked peculiarities (especially a beading of the tip of the long strokes some trace of which may be seen in one of the signatures in Fig. 26 below) and suffering, it must be added, from the increasing efforts of the Writing Masters, aided by the copper-plate engravers, to distinguish their own particular performances by means of more and more extravagant flourishes and decorations: finally that it spread with more or less rapidity to the other countries in Europe, establishing itself with particular success in Spain;§ but that England, though it made itself felt here before the end of the fifteenth century,|| was distinctly slow in taking it up.

It was in fact for a considerable time the special property of the learned or the travelled. Probably by about 1550, but not much before, it had progressed so far that the well-educated—men of University standing, for example—and the professional writers would learn it (even learn several varieties of it) as well as the

\* For notes and some illustrations of the early history of *Anticha* and *Cancelleresca* see Prou, M., *Manuel de Paléographie...*: and Steffens, F., *Paléographie Latine*.

† In his *Virgil*.

‡ For whom see above, § VI.

§ For an illustrated bibliography of the Spanish School see Cotarelo y Mori, E., *Diccionario...de Caligrafos Españoles*: Madrid, 1913.

|| It is traditionally said to have been introduced here by Petrus Carmelianus, Latin Secretary to Henry VII.

*Secretary Hand*: the signatures in the *Common Paper*,\* of which Fig. 26 below is a particularly good example, go to prove this: but for another century it remained, even for scholars, the writing of ceremony; writing at their ease, the majority would choose a *Secretary Hand*, perhaps signing in the *Italic*.†

In penmanship the *Italic* probably differed at first very little from other hands, using an obliquely cut nib and an oblique hold; but by the later part of the sixteenth century it had become an accepted theory that *Secretary* and *Italic* required different holds, if not different cuttings, and these are duly set out in a number of books, both English and foreign, appearing for example in Baildon in 1571 and George Shelley in 1709.‡ In the late seventeenth century we find the French and Italian masters recommending a curious hold between thumb and one finger only,§ adding sometimes the rule that the paper should continually be moved away by the left hand: there is no evidence that this hold ever obtained much influence in England; though it is recommended by several Writing Masters and was not unknown so late as the nineteenth century.

Of *Roman* we need say little here except that it did not become for a very long time (not indeed till the late seventeenth century) at all popular for purposes of headings in administrative documents: here the *Text* and *Bastard* long retained their position. We may perhaps also emphasize again the fact that the strict use of the two words, *Roman* and *Italic*, is modern. Baildon, for example, uses the two indifferently and a later writer recommends (as suitable for ladies)|| under the name of *Roman* what it is very difficult to distinguish from his *Italic*. Note also, by the way, a curious misunderstanding, perpetuated by the *Dictionary of National Biography*, by which the introduction of the *Italic Hands* to England is credited to 'Colonel' John Ayres in the late seventeenth century.

\* Where *Italic* signatures begin in 1554. The illustration shews a *Secretary* writing of the name (from the body of the document) and three *Italic* signatures of which one is *frisée*.

† In Plate xvi is a curious signature half in *Italic* and half in *Secretary*. The subject of signatures is treated in more detail below, § xx.

‡ See the very elaborate plate in his *Natural*

*Writing in all the Hands* for the cutting of the Pen.

§ It is shewn very plainly in plates in Weston, T., *Ancilla Calligraphiae*, 1682: cp. Johnson, J., A copy book containing both *Experimental Precepts*..., 1669, and Cocker, E., *The Pen's Triumph*..., 1658, and *Multum in Parvo*...(?1670).

|| Furnishing an apt comment on the 'sweet Roman hand' of Shakespeare's Olivia.



# XV

## THE LATE MIXED HANDS

ALPHABETS: Nos. 10 and 11.

PLATES: XVIII (iv.); XX (i.); XXI (ii.) to (iv.); XXXII (ii.); XXXIII (ii.); XXXIV (i.) and (ii.); XXXVII (v.).

We have seen above that from the first expert writers used the *Secretary* and *Italic* concurrently: and it has puzzled many people why, having at their disposal so beautiful and legible a hand as the latter, they should have troubled to learn and use the former. The answer is that for over a century they regarded *Secretary* as the superior in one important matter, rapidity. No one thought of producing an *Italic* which could compete with it in this respect; and hence the anomaly by which the writers of quite ugly *Secretary* will produce a really beautiful version of the other script: the Masters, as we have seen, treated the two as separate divisions of the Art with separate techniques.

Quite early, however, and without any instruction (apparently) from their teachers, writers began to mix the two in various ways: they would write in *Secretary* but distinguish important words or quotations by *Italic* (to this day we both emphasize in script and ask the printer for *Italic* by underlining);\* or they would begin in *Italic* but drop into *Secretary* or *vice versa*:† presently they reached the stage of mixing the letter-forms—*Italic* very seldom‡ borrowed from *Secretary* for obvious reasons but the reverse practice became increasingly frequent: finally came the more subtle form of borrowing by which the *Secretary* was written of a size and with an uniform slope taken from the other hand: and into this all the *Italic* forms gradually penetrated.

These various methods are illustrated by (among others) the Plates set out above: in Plate xxxiv (i.), for example, we have a highly current *Secretary Hand* diversified with a few *Italic* forms, whereas No. (ii.) on the same plate shews us the *Italic* and *Secretary* mixed in what might almost be called (as indeed it began to be called a little later)§ a *Round Hand*, with a great predominance of the *Italic* forms. In Fig. 10 overleaf|| we have a fairly early example of this (1627). The Writing Master seems to have been slow in taking them up but it was ultimately in a series of such scripts (*our new compos'd Coursary Secretaries*, as Cocker¶ calls them) that

\* The practice of underlining a quotation is mediæval: cp. *Court Hand Illustrated*, Plate xxxvi (a).

† Thus, for example, *Exchequer*, K. R., *Port Books*, 28/1, of 1624, written in *Secretary*, drops for no apparent reason into *Italic* for occasional words.

‡ It happened occasionally. Note, for example, the *Secretary* form of *h* in one of the signatures in Fig. 26: this is common and used by the Masters.

§ e.g., by John Ayres, *The Tutor to Penmanship*, 1698.

|| From *State Papers, Domestic*, James I, 214, p. 259.

¶ *The Pen's Triumph*, 1658: in *The Pen's Transcendancy* (1660) he speaks of *Cursarie or mixed secretary*: and David Brown twenty years earlier (*The Introduction to the true understanding of...teaching to write*) speaks of *the new, mixt, current, or speedy Italian writing*.

he also, recognizing necessity, combined the two hands; providing at once a successor to the small current *Secretary* of Davies and a link with modern scripts.

To.  
Deane of Norwich. Signifying vnto him his Ma<sup>ties</sup>  
expresse pleasure, and commaund to send vp a Patent  
wth his Ma<sup>ties</sup> hath referred to the examinac'on of the  
Lo: Archbishop of Canterburie, and others, and to  
appoint one to attend, and followe the busines. And  
in case hee faile herein his Ma<sup>ties</sup> will send a Seriaunt  
at Armes for him

Fig. 10\*

These hands are medium in size, much sloped, having little or no trace of the old angularity and obviously tending towards that abominable modern hold by which the pen was made to follow the line of the fore-arm. Any difficulty in them, as in the annexed specimen,<sup>†</sup> is due rather to the currency than to the survival of the

Vpon mocon this day made vnto this Court by Mr Dobbins being of  
the p<sup>tes</sup> Co and vpon producing of an ord<sup>r</sup> of the 17 Day of Aprill  
Vpon mocon this day made vnto this Court by  
Mr Hungford being of y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> p<sup>tes</sup> Co: It was alledged

Fig. 11 ‡

*Secretary* forms—a dwindling number, though the *e*, as we have seen, and one or two others, were unconscionably long in dying. In two Cocker specimens we may note (Alphabet 10)<sup>§</sup> old forms of *c*, *d*, *e*, *f*, *h*, *k*, *r* and *s* and again (Alphabet 11)<sup>||</sup> *c*, *d*, *e*, *g*, *t* and *v*; but nearly all are given as alternatives. It is to be noted that the intermediate stages to which we have alluded—the hands in which the forms are

\* This passage reads 'To. Deane of Norwich. Signifying vnto him his Ma<sup>ties</sup> expresse pleasure, and 'commaund' to send vp a Patent w<sup>ch</sup> his Ma<sup>ties</sup> hath 'referred to the examinac'on of the Lo: Archbishop 'of Canterburie, and others, and to appoint one to 'attend', and followe the busines. And in case hee 'faile herein his Ma<sup>ties</sup> will send a Seriaunt at Armes 'for him'. The words italicized are in practically pure Italic in the original, the rest in a mixed hand.

† From *Chancery, Entry Books of Decrees and Orders*,

1688 B and 1692 B. Note that the second is much more advanced than the first.

‡ The two passages read *Vpon mocon' this day made vnto this Court by Mr Dobbins being of the p<sup>tes</sup> Co and vpon producing of an ord<sup>r</sup> of the 17 Day of Aprill and Vpon mocon' this day made vnto this Court by Mr Hungford' being of y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> p<sup>tes</sup> Co: Itt was alledged*

§ From *Multum in Parvo* or the Pen's Gallantry (? 1670).

|| *Ibid.*



still almost entirely *Secretary*, as in Plate xxi (ii.) and, still more, the rough mixed hands of the late sixteenth century, such as those of Plate xviii (iv.) and xxxii (ii.)—are by no means so easy: also that the plain *Secretary* did not die out because the *Round Hand* (to give it that name) was invented—it lasted on in some places well into the eighteenth century. We note in this connection that it was apparently worth while to reprint Davies' *Secretary* plates in 1663. However, the *Mixed* or *Round Hands*, having arrived, achieved soon an enormous popularity; appearing, each with its little individual reminiscences of the style or form of the *Secretary*, in every connection: they are particularly common and long-lived in legal series, such as the *Chancery Proceedings*, which did not use the special *Legal* writings.

## XVI

### THE SPECIAL SET HANDS

ALPHABETS: Nos. 12, 13 and 14; 15; 16; 17 to 20.

PLATES: (*Chancery: Transitional*) xxxv (v.), (vi.) and (vii.); xxxvi (i.); xxxix (ii.); xli (iv.).

(*Chancery: Developed*) xxiii (vi.) (Memorandum); xxxvi (ii.) and (iii.); xxxvii (i.) to (v.).

(*Exchequer: K. R.*) xxxix (ii.); xl (i.) and (ii.).

(*Exchequer: Pipe Office*) xxxviii (i.), (ii.), (iv.) and (v.).

(*Exchequer: L. T. R.*) xxxviii (iii.); xxxix (i.).

(*Legal: Transitional*) xii (ii.); xiii (iii.); xli (v.) and (vii.); xlii; xliii (i.).

(*Legal: Small*) xiii (ii.); xvi (iv.); xli (viii.); xliv (i.) and (ii.).

(*Legal: Medium to Large*) xliii (ii.) and (iii.); xliv (i.) and (ii.).

In introducing these hands we may mention again that here is something of exclusively English development: the other hands we have seen all had something in common with Continental models, even borrowed freely from them. It may be well to add that though these are the only *Special Set Hands* so far identified in England it is not impossible that others may yet be established, though not, I think, in the Central Administrations: I rather expected to find one in the Records of the Duchy of Lancaster (an important administration which developed on individual lines) but did not. It must also be emphasized that they are of gradual formation: so that for a long time a single roll or book may shew, side by side, highly developed *special* hands and others which have little or no trace of the *special* characteristics.

The individual peculiarities of these hands (saving perhaps the case of the *Pipe Office* hands) are much more matters of style than of letter-form; there is little difference in the method of forming any given letter for any one of the *special* hands nor is there much to distinguish them, from this point of view, from *Bastard*: and as peculiarities of style are rather subtle things to differentiate the student will probably be wise, for a first impression, to study the Plates in the reverse order, the latest in date shewing the characteristics of each hand best.

Finally we may observe that all the *Special Set Hands* have a high pen-angle (in Plate xxxvi, for example, the angle of the pen's edge to the horizontal is 50° to 55°) and all have a fine standard of penmanship, shewing a reversion to early technique: their letter-forms are often bad, reproducing the most degraded form evolved by currency (as in the case of the long *r*), or the most confusing elaboration (as in the *Pipe Roll* capitals) or fantastic affectation (as in the *L. T. R.* hand); but the execution of them is highly accomplished and even beautiful.

THE CHANCERY HAND. This, the easiest and in spite of some bad features most beautiful of the *special* hands, begins to appear in the reign of Henry VI, is much improved in that of Henry VIII and reaches its highest point about the time when



an important body of Chancery Clerks, the *Cursistae* or Cursitors, were formed\* into a College at the end of the sixteenth century: their *Admission Roll* survives to us and has been used for Plate xxxvii. To appreciate this hand properly one has to remember the extreme rapidity with which it was written and the quantity that was turned out: not only was it used for all letters under the Great Seal and all *Enrolments* in the *Chancery*, but all the countless *Original Writ*s† were in it. In the case of original *Letters Patent*, which were often very elaborately decorated,‡ it was sometimes refined into something closely resembling *Text* and one or two of the later Writing Masters distinguish a *set* and a *current* form of it: but this merely means that for the writing of prominent phrases or initial words and other formal purposes the Chancery Clerk has a writing, as in the annexed example,§ in which the letter-forms are *Chancery* but the style approximates more

*Domina Regina mandavit*

Fig. 12

or less closely to *Text*;|| while the very large proportion of his writing is done as quickly and as currently as it can be. The annexed title,¶ which is quite effortless and unstudied, shews how naturally this hand, even in full currency, fell into lines of real grace and charm.

To a considerable extent (as has been said) the success of the *Chancery* writing comes from the use of approximately the same penmanship which was used for the best writing of the medieval period. This was a common feature of all the *special* hands: but each of these shews also certain other more individual characteristics, the progress of which may be watched in our earlier examples. In the case of the *Chancery* we find a comparative shortness of ascenders and descenders and as a result an almost invariable closeness between the lines; resulting also from the above, a little extra width in the proportions of the short letters such as *o*, *a* and *c*—the exceptions to this are *m*, *n* and *u*, which, for a reason mentioned below, are

*Liber Contrarotulamenti Hanaperij  
Cancellarie tam Cartarum et  
finium quam breuium  
et patencium a festo Sancti Michaelis  
Anno  
nono  
domine Elizabeth  
Regine usque idem festum  
Sancti Michaelis Anno  
decimo dicte  
domine  
Regine*

Fig. 13\*\*

\* See my article in *The Library*, June 1922.

† Writs out of the Chancery as opposed to *Judicial Writs* issuing out of the Legal Courts.

‡ See again below, § xxvi.

§ From *Placita in Cancellaria* (Rolls Chapel Series), 29, of 1585.

|| See again below, § xvii: and for a good example of almost pure *Text* in original *Letters Patent* see

*Exch., Augmentation Office, Deeds of Purchase...*, H. 22, of the reign of Edward VI.

¶ from an ordinary Hanaper Account (A.O. 3/373/5).

\*\* This passage reads *Liber Contrarotulamenti Hanaperij Cancellarie tam Cartarum et finium quam breuium et patencium a festo Sancti Michaelis Archangeli Anno nono domine Elizabeth Regine usque idem festum Sancti Michaelis Anno decimo dicte domine Regine*.

rather compressed; an absence of the tapering vertical stroke, due to the penmanship already noted; an absence of angularity and a consequent rounded effect achieved in various ways but chiefly by a slight inclination of vertical strokes to the right when they reach the line and by the slurring (elimination, very often, in the case of *m*, *n* and *u*) of diagonal connecting strokes within letters or between them. The rounded effect is increased by the choice of forms for capitals.

Plate xxxv shews a series of *Letters Patent*, illustrating the gradual change from *Bastard* to something like the *Chancery Hand* in the fifteenth century. The definite contrast already existing between this and other hands is illustrated in Plate xli (iv.), where an *Original Writ* (issuing out of the Chancery) is inserted among a number of *Judicial Writs* (out of the King's Bench). On the other hand Plate xxxix (ii.) shews that at a certain stage of its development this script, though it had been perfected in the Chancery, might quite well be used elsewhere;\* for this document was presumably written by a clerk in the King's Remembrancer's Department of the Exchequer: moreover under Henry VIII the newly-established Court of Augmentations used *Chancery* for its Enrolments. This phase, however, passed: the King's Remembrancer's Department developed a hand of its own, as we shall see, and the Court of Augmentations reverted to ordinary *Secretary Hands*; and the *Chancery* was left to develop by itself to the point we see in Plate xxxvii.

The first of our Alphabets (No. 12) from Baildon (1571) does not give a very fair idea of the hand, for his copy approximates too closely to *Text*. We may note, however, the typical forms of a few letters—the second and third *a*, the *cc*, *E*, *d* and *g* (notice the hair-line abbreviation on a number of these), *S*, *x* and *y*. More indicative is Alphabet 13,† of 1618, where the favourite and very characteristic forms of *B*, *m* and *n*, long *r*, *T* and *w* are shewn. Even so we may conjecture safely from these and other copy-book examples that this hand owed little to the Masters; that in this case they copied rather than set the fashion: and by way of contrast we have in Alphabet 14, compiled from nothing more elaborate than a contemporary Index to the *Patent Rolls* of 1580,‡ an example of its handling by a very ordinary clerk.

The *Chancery Hand*, with the other *Set Hands*, survived the Commonwealth, which temporarily ousted but did not destroy them, and lived on long after our period,

\* Even privately: traces of it may occasionally be found in deeds: cp. *Ancient Deeds*, D. 9872, temp. Henry VI. Such usage, however, is rare.

† Billingsley, M., *The Pen's Excellency*.

‡ In the Legal Search Room at the Public Record Office.



falling slowly into decadence: the destructive factor was a growing coarseness which may be seen in an early stage and in two forms in the annexed illustration of the year 1680;\* at a later date I have seen it with 'short' letters nearly a quarter of an inch in height:

Stamp & Concedimus  
Stamp & concedimus

Fig. 14

contrast this with Fig. 13 above—a small, but by no means the smallest, size of the best period. Similar coarseness marked the late stages of the other *Set Hands*.

THE SET HANDS OF THE EXCHEQUER. These hands were never advertised, so far as I am aware, in any Writing Master's Book: though it seems probable that the Masters were prepared on occasion to teach at least a colourable imitation of them† they were probably acquired mainly, as they had been originally developed, by practice within the Offices. The documents written in them, though considerable in quantity, were restricted in range; the *K. R.* and *L. T. R.* hands being used for the huge *Memoranda Rolls* kept by the Remembrancers, for certain subsidiary documents, Repertories and Agenda Books to these and for exemplification of documents out of them under the seal of the Exchequer and occasional endorsement of private deeds and the like;‡ the *K. R.* hand is used also for a time in *Exchequer of Pleas, Plea Rolls*; while the *Pipe Office* hand was restricted normally to the *Pipe Roll* and other *Enrolled Accounts* and to the *Quietus*—an extract from these given to the Accountant, examples of which occur not infrequently in family collections.

SET HAND OF THE KING'S REMEMBRANCER'S DEPARTMENT. Examination of the long series of *Memoranda Rolls* shews that quite early they adopt (in both *K. R.* and *L. T. R.* series) the use of some variety or other of large *Bastard Hand*: and in the *K. R.* series we begin to trace from about 1480 the emergence of a form peculiar to these Records. This does not, however, become anything like universal in use in any given roll till about 1560, though it is well developed before that. In Plate xxxix (ii.) we have seen that at first the *K. R.* is not really distinguishable from the *Chancery Hand* and it is not till about 1530, that it definitely attains separate characteristics: and even then it is necessary to have a number of the letters grouped together in order to be sure of the difference. Distinct, however, the *K. R.* hand is

\* From *Chancery, Patent Rolls*, 3217.

† Mrs R. L. Poole points out to me that in Peck, F., *Desiderata Curiosa* (1732), bk. xii, p. 7, is an account by Arthur Wilson of his being left by his father with John Davies for half a year because he *could not write*

the Court & Chancery Hands, as a preliminary to his taking up a post in the *Exchequer*.

‡ An example will be found on *Exchequer, K. R., Ancient Deeds*, D. 10440—another part of which is used also for Fig. 20 below.

and remains beyond the end of the seventeenth century. The fully developed hand is seen in Plate XL (ii.).

The forms of individual letters seen in Alphabet 15\* differ little, as has been said, from those of the *Chancery*; though the presence of the most current form of *e* will be noted together with a little extra currency in some other letters. Careful comparison, however, will shew that the *K. R.* letters differ in three important respects; the ascenders and descenders are not so regularly short and consequently the distance between the lines has to be greater; the letters are comparatively broader than the *Chancery* ones, so that the compactness of the latter gives way to what is sometimes almost a sprawling habit (the *Chancery* averages, *c.* 1570, about 30% more letters than the *K. R.* hand in a given space); and the *Chancery's* avoidance of angles is not copied, so that not only are diagonals between vertical strokes more marked but also the old artificial angle in the back of a curve or at the foot of a short stroke reappears in strength.

LORD TREASURER'S REMEMBRANCER'S DEPARTMENT. It is difficult to say whether one should describe the writing of this department as a separate hand, for there is only one characteristic—that of exaggerated narrowness and angularity—which is common to all writers of it; and as may be seen from the annexed illustration,<sup>†</sup> of 1575, it

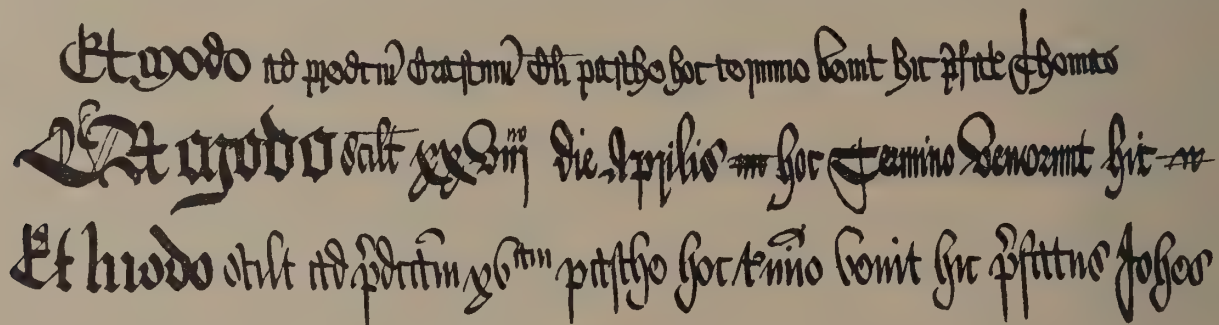


Fig. 15‡

is possible for contemporaries, while alike in that, to be exceedingly dissimilar in other respects; though generally all have, in addition, a rather legal character. Up to 1500 or later the hands of the *L. T. R. Memoranda Roll* shew a great variety of rather large rough hands, including latterly some that are much the same as the newly developing *K. R.* hand. About 1525 some suggestion of the narrow hand

\* From *Exchequer, K. R., Memoranda Rolls*, 362.

† From *Exchequer, L. T. R., Memoranda Rolls*, 400.

The very curious first hand will be found also in an exemplification in *Court of Wards, Deeds*, 212/12. I am indebted to my colleague Mr S. C. Ratcliff for this example.

‡ The three passages read [1] *Et modo ad predictum Crastinum Claudi pasche hoc termino venit hic prefatus Thomas* [2] *Et modo scilicet xxvij<sup>mo</sup> die Aprilis* [flourish] *hoc termino venerunt hic* [flourish] [and 3] *Et modo scilicet ad predictam xv<sup>am</sup> pasche hoc termino venit hic prefatus Iohannes*



appears and the quantity of this increases slowly till about Baildon's time (1570)—approximately the date of our illustration—when it has become general. The common feature of narrowness continues right through the seventeenth century but dissimilarity in other respects also continues general. There is from time to time an increase of the legal character.

The actual methods of making the letters do not differ much from those seen in other *Set Hands* of the same period.

Note that an *L. T. R.* type of hand may find its way into the *Pipe Roll*; as is not unnatural, since the work of that record is originally a division of that of the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's Office; an example appears in Plate xxxviii (iii.): but the reverse does not, normally at any rate, seem to occur.

THE SET HAND OF THE PIPE OFFICE. This hand, the uses of which have been already described,\* develops entirely on its own lines, principally by emphasizing the effect produced by one characteristic, that of the short stroke which is bent left and right at its head and foot as in the accompanying illustration.† The development of this may be seen in Plate xxxviii: latterly it produces two results. One is a large hand used for emphasized passages as in Nos. (iv.) and (v.), in which the marked head and foot almost push out of existence the intermediate (and, originally most important) part of the stroke. The second is a hand in which the minuscule letters are small and narrow (there is here perhaps some influence of the ordinary *L. T. R.* style), with rather long ascenders and descenders and a pronounced backward slope (a substitute for the angle at head and foot already described): while the capitals fall into some forms quite unlike those seen elsewhere. It must be remembered that the *Pipe Roll*, with its long lists of personal names repeated year after year and its strictly limited and conventional character, lent itself not unnaturally to such a development: a parallel to which is its specialization of forms for certain symbols and for constantly recurring words such as *Idem*, *Et* and *Summa*. Three stages in the development of the astounding oblong *S* which figures in this *Summa* in late *Pipe Rolls* are shewn in the accompanying illustration,‡ some typical symbols will be found in § xxi and a curious treatment of large *Text* in index titles is illustrated in § xvii below.

*Sicut ante idem*  
Fig. 16

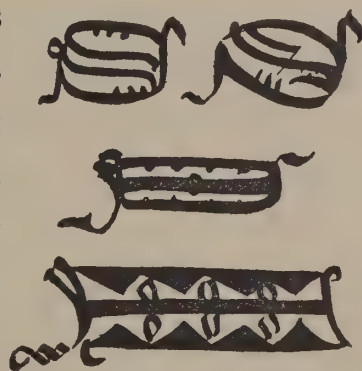


Fig. 17

\* Above, p. 71.

† From *Exchequer, L. T. R., Pipe Rolls*, 335, of 1489: cp. Plate III (iv.), Marginal.

‡ From *Exchequer, L. T. R., Pipe Rolls*, 344, 380 and 416, of 1498, 1534 and 1570.

In Alphabet 16\* we have the full development of the smaller special *Pipe Roll* hand at a later date than that of our Plate. Note the trace of the old characteristics in *i*, *m* and *n*, the heavily headed tall strokes (*b*, *l*, *s*, *w*), the thick curved suspension mark (instead of a hair-line) in abbreviated *d* and *k*, and the similar line for *per* and *pro* in *p*; with the novel forms of *h* (with spur below the line), *q*, sigma *s*, *w* and *x*. Among the capitals *B*, *C*, *E*, *H*, *J*, *M* and *T* are most remarkable. The beginning of these peculiarities may be seen in the two last extracts on Plate xxxviii.

THE *LEGAL HANDS*. For reasons already explained these hands, though they originated in the Royal Courts, were from quite an early stage practised by more or less unofficial individuals outside: in a number of instances there is strong suggestion of the *Legal* in the writings of the *Common Paper*, a draft for a private deed of the late fifteenth century shews it in Plate xlii and in Plate xliii we have in a lawyer's letter to his client a well-developed example: and many other instances might be noted.† Owing to this widespread use the *Legal* is much better written by the Writing Masters than the *Chancery*.

The main characteristics of the style (which begin to suggest themselves remarkably early‡ though it is not till the late fifteenth century that they become at all frequent) are verticality, with a tendency from time to time to backward slope, and a certain dashing quality which expresses itself in exaggerated length and large angular bows on strokes below and (to some extent) on those above the line: some typical specimens are shewn in the annexed illustration§ from a *Fine* of the early sixteenth century. Further peculiarities vary according as the hand is medium to large or definitely small—two distinct branches of the style which shew themselves quite early. It is not improbable that this distinction resulted from the habit of leaving in the *Plea Rolls* a space (generally inadequate) after the enrolment of a case for the addition of later proceedings on it; which are inserted (see Plate xliiv) in the smaller hand: but this hand was also very generally (though not invariably)|| used for writing *Judicial*

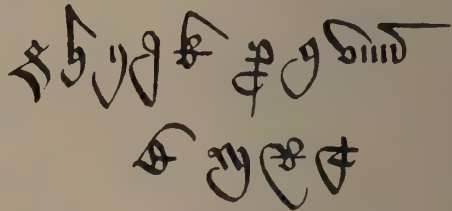


Fig. 18

\* From *Pipe Office, Recusant Rolls*, 1, of 34 Elizabeth.

† A peculiarly good one was noted recently in an indenture quadripartite between the Bishop of London, the King and others, dated 4 Edward VI—*Exchequer, Augmentations, Deeds of Purchase...*, G.22.

‡ I have seen slight suggestions of the *Legal* so

early as the reign of Edward II (for instance in *Common Pleas, Feet of Fines* (C. P. 25), 198/18). A good late fourteenth century example is in *de Banco Roll* (C.P. 40), 501, of 9 Richard II.

§ From C. P. 25 (1) 232/79 of 1508.

|| See the Elizabethan examples of *Writs Precipe* shewn in facsimile in my article in *The Library*.



*Writs* and we see its evolution in documents of this kind in Plate xli (v.) to (viii.). Whatever the origin of the split it is quite a recognized one, the Writing Masters habitually giving copies in two, if not three, sizes. The chief difference is that the large hand lends itself, as the smaller does not, to an increasing stiffness, narrowness and angularity of the short letters; strokes naturally curved being forced into the straight to secure the appearance of a long series of parallel lines, till they go far to justify their description as 'pigs' ribs' by a contemporary authority.\* It also uses in moderation a tapering stroke but does not apparently get this by finger pressure, using in fact a cut and hold of the pen almost exaggeratedly oblique. As opposed to this the smaller hand is designed for, or capable of, extreme currency and rapidity, with a consequent loss of angularity.

In our Alphabets the main characteristics are well shewn. There is extraordinarily little difference between No. 17 (Baildon,† 1571) and Nos. 19 and 20 (Cocker,‡ 1664): even the greater regularity of the latter may be put down largely to the fine technique of his engraving. Note the tapering strokes in *C, E, f, G, N, O, P, p* and *Q*; the angular bows on *H, J, j, M, R, T* and *V*; the introduction of straight lines for curves in *g, M, O, S* and *s*; the curious form of the first *p*; and the solemn conventionalizing of current forms in the dotted *i*, the *c* in Cocker's examples (Baildon has a curious spurred form) and *t* and the abbreviated letters *ll, m*, etc. Alphabet 18 (Davies) is really very like the larger hands considering its size, but displays, beside the characteristics already mentioned, one or two extra currencies, such as the third *C*.

The *Legal Hand* as we see it in Cocker is what, about the end of the seventeenth century, came to be known, *par excellence*, as *Court Hand* and figured as such, practically unchanged, in Andrew Wright's *Court Hand Restored*,§ first published in 1773: Wright still distinguished the *Chancery Hands* from this; but did not know of, or trouble about, any others.

\* Roger North (c. 1700) says that Lord Keeper Guildford (ob. 1685) 'acquired a very small but 'legible hand; for where contracting is the main 'business, it is not well to write, as the fashion now 'is, uncial or semi-uncial letters to look like pigs' ribs' (see Jessop, *Lives of the Norths*, 1, p. 22). This is father to a passage in Scott's *Guy Mannering*.

† Baildon calls this the hand of the *Common Place* (Pleas) but it belongs equally to the King's Bench.

‡ From his *Guide to Penmanship*.

§ Wright published his book to correct an ignorance resulting, he says, from the Acts of 4 and 6 George II (which required all law proceedings to be written in English) 'Time having gradually deprived the 'Law of those valuable gentlemen' who understood the older hands. His plates were reprinted by C. T. Martin in 1879.

These concern the student of *Court Hand* only in so far as they (i) influence the development of the *Bastard Hands* and their derivatives, (ii) appear in business documents as headings or emphasized words—the latter particularly when introducing a new paragraph in legal documents, a practice which has lasted to the present day—and (iii) are themselves modified for his own purposes by the *Court Hand* writer. Of (i) we have already spoken, but (ii) and (iii) require a few words. By way of introduction we may first suggest that fifteenth century *Text Hands*\* may profitably be followed into early printing;† and secondly note that the use of the word *Text* is well established in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The quotations given by the *New English Dictionary* are rather confusing but one or two are valuable; and the use by Baildon in 1571, combined with the fact that in 1357‡ and 1422§ *Writers of the Text* and *Illuminators* are officially distinguished from *Writers of the Court Letter*, is conclusive.

THE USE OF PURE TEXT IN ARCHIVES. This is sufficiently established and a number of examples appear in our Plates|| but it is never very common mediævally: curiously enough (but quite understandably) it becomes more so with the general increase of



Fig. 19



Fig. 20

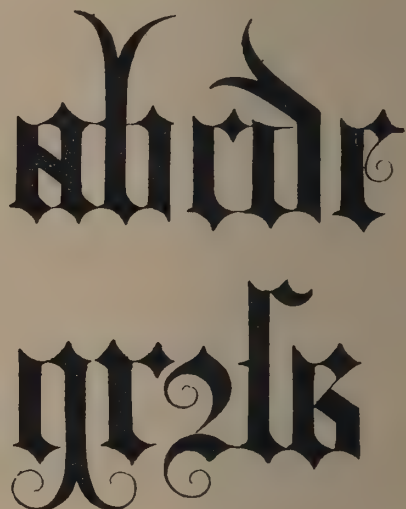


Fig. 21

\* For the style which had been reached at this time see above, Fig. 1, and for a general sketch of its development see Thompson, Sir E. M., *Greek and Latin Palaeography*.

† The most handy illustrated sketch of the history of Early Printing is the British Museum *Guide to the Exhibition in the King's Library...*, 1913. For detailed work there are numerous monographs by specialists such as de Ricci, S., *A Census of Caxtons*,

1909, and Gordon Duff, E., *Fifteenth Century English Books*, 1917: both published by the Bibliographical Society.

‡ See an ordinance on p. 1 of the *Common Paper*.

§ See Unwin, G., *The Gilds and Companies of London*, p. 167. See also references in *Guild Hall Letter Books*, K., pp. 53 and 232.

|| See, e.g., marginal uses in Plates v and viii and a heading in Plate xxxiii.



ornamental hands\* in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: but by that time it is not a natural writing, so that even so good a writer as John Davies† (Fig. 19) has to thicken his strokes artificially and gets a poor result. Such headings look better when they are very large, as in our example (Fig. 20) from a deed of 1547;‡ because then the writers frankly rule these strokes and paint them in: compare Plate XXIII which, however, is not so well done. Our latest example (Fig. 21), by Cocker, shews the final degradation of this writing in the exaggerated contrast between the thick and hair strokes.§

**TEXT IN THE SET HANDS.** The only natural and easy writing of the *Text* which remained was the modification used by the Chancery. Our example (Fig. 22: *temp.* Henry VIII)|| is almost pure *Text* in style: but generally we find it with more *Chancery* forms of letter; as in Fig. 12 above and in Plate XXXVI. In this form it is common throughout the sixteenth century and later. The explanation of its superiority is, of course, that the pen used in *Chancery* writing most closely resembled those of the best medieval period.

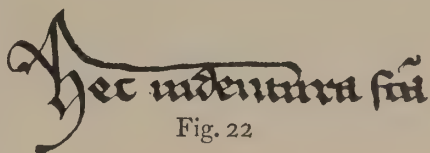


Fig. 22

A curious modification of the large style is seen in the case of the *Pipe Rolls*,¶



Fig. 23



Fig. 24

which use it for their County references in headings and tail-pieces. These, occurring year after year in the same connection, develop curious individual peculiarities: our example (Fig. 23) shews the writing of [B]edd', for Bedfordshire, in three rolls\*\* of the years 1462, 1544 and 1671.

\* Cp. notes on the use of ornamental *Italic* above, §§ XIV and XV.

† *Common Paper*, p. 206 (dated 1619). There is, however, some doubt if this is the famous Master.

‡ *Exchequer, K. R., Ancient Deeds*, D. 10440.

§ From his *Pen's Triumph* (1658).

|| From an *Enrolment of Leases* in the *Augmentation Office* (*Misc. Books*, 211, f. 64). For the use of the *Chancery* hand here see above, p. 70.

¶ Other special peculiarities of these are dealt with above, § XVI.

\*\* From *Exch., L. T. R., Pipe Rolls*, 308, 390, 516.

Individual modifications of the *Text* may, of course, occur at any time without possibility of prediction. An example (Fig. 24) of 1549\* shews a square effect which I have noted in more than one place and period:† it is, incidentally, connected closely with a common modern treatment of the *serifs* at the head and foot of the Roman capitals used in numeration; which appears at quite an early date‡ in large renderings of the Roman X.

\* From *Exch., Augmentation Office, Chantry Certificates*, 19. The word and number are *Perindon xviiij*.

† Cp. *Chancery Proceedings* (C. 7), 405/95, of 1654.

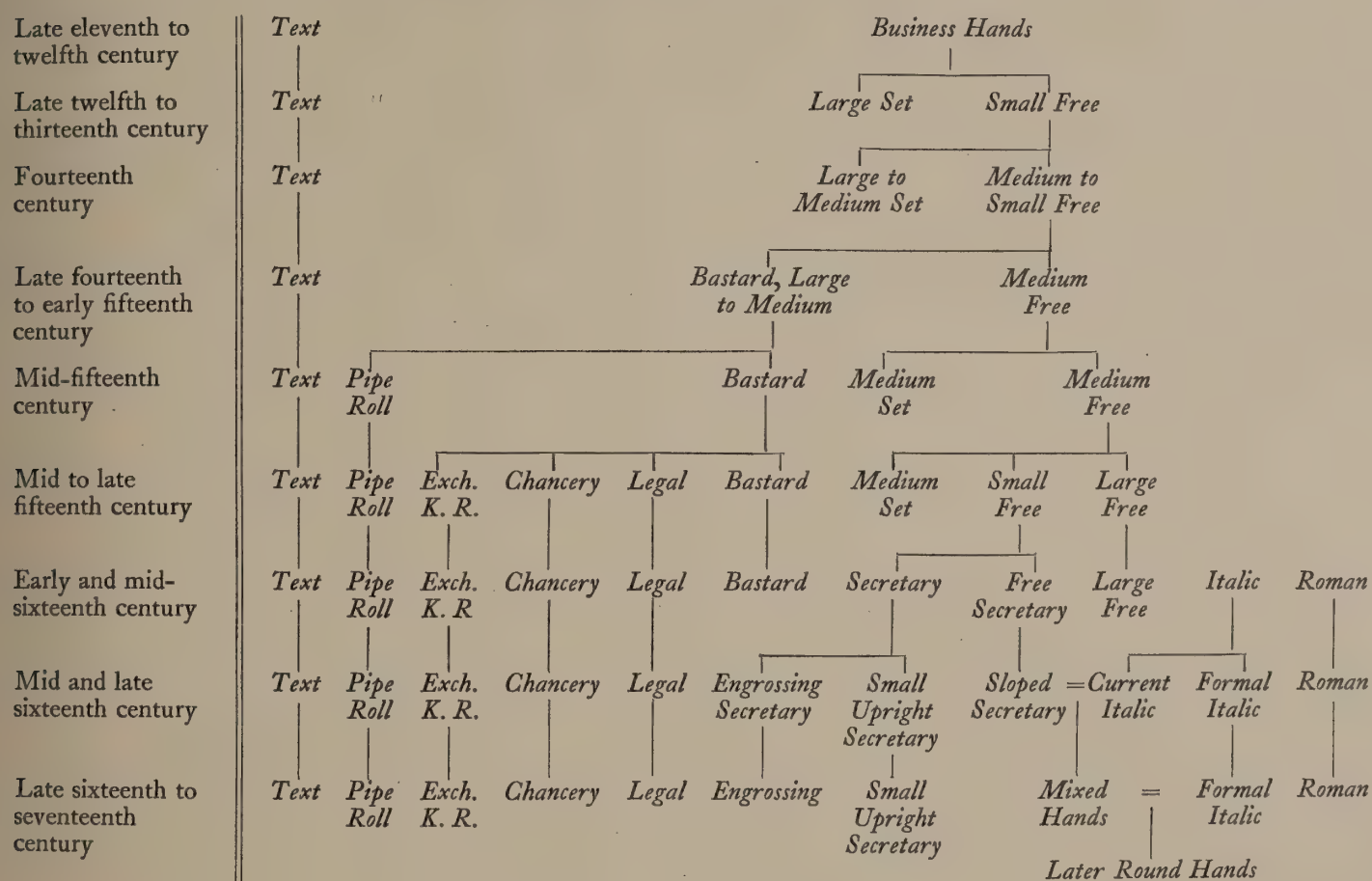
‡ I have seen it on the outside of rolls of the fourteenth century. For a further development of this numeral see below, § xxii and Fig. 52.



# XVIII

## THE DATING OF COURT HANDS

The comparative dates at which the different divisions of the *Court Hand*, described in this Introduction, begin to be in evidence are best displayed graphically; and I accordingly annex a Table in the shape of a genealogical tree. In introducing this, however, I should add an emphatic warning that dating by *expertise*, always a dangerous expedient, is particularly so when applied to the *Current Hands*. There is hardly any feature in these which can be tied down with exactitude to a date, all developments overlap and all peculiarities are liable to recur,\* even after quite long intervals. Moreover throughout our period, but particularly in the medieval part, we are commonly hampered by knowing little or nothing of the writer, his age, origin or status.† The dates in the Table have purposely been made approximate only: and even these should be treated as a convenience rather than a criterion.



It may be well also to explain an apparent discrepancy in the methods of representing in the Table the descent of a hand from one period to the next. In a sense

\* Cp. the note on a form of *c* (below, Plate xxv) and on one of *r* (above, Fig. 9: cp. Plate xxxi).

† Cp. some remarks in my *Palaeography and the Study of Court Hand* (Cambridge, 1915).

#### THE DATING OF COURT HANDS.

the general *Set Hand* of one generation may be said to be the father of that of the next : more strictly, however, *so long as active development is going on*, it is the *Free Hands* of one period which prepare the way for the formalizations of the next and I have shewn descent from these accordingly. With the appearance of the *Special Set Hands* the case is changed ; for to these there is no *Free Hand*. The old-fashioned upright *Secretary* of the seventeenth century counts (it will be noticed) among these *special* hands.



## XIX

### THE AVERAGE HAND OF THE ORDINARY MAN

Following the chronological sequence of hands shewn in the last section, it may be convenient here to summarize what is known of the development of certain other everyday features of writing; of the writing now of ordinary men, excluding the *Special Hands*, apart from which there is no fundamental difference between public and private administrations. Some cautious inferences may be drawn from the writings of the Scriveners together with such series as those shewn in Plates xxiii, xxvii, xxxv, xxxvii and xxxviii, though it is of course impossible to say that so few series give us a complete survey. It would be interesting to accumulate a considerable quantity of homogeneous series—a number from consecutive *Court Rolls* of single places, for example, a further selection from such of the Public Record Series as are not in *Special Hands*, others from *Bishops' Registers*, local *Customs* or *Subsidy Accounts* and so forth—to statisticize certain characteristics in each of them and to analyse and combine the results. Perhaps some reader may be moved to attempt the task: analysis of the penmanship would be particularly valuable. The present is (once more) a preliminary examination only.

PENMANSHIP. The old-fashioned rule for oblique *cutting* of the pen has already been quoted.\* It is probable that observance of this may be regarded as growing regularly less and less throughout our period,† though we know that the nib cut definitely straight was only introduced as a recognized method, by the *Italic Hand*, in the sixteenth century, and was not even an original feature in the early forms of that. Obliqueness of *hold* comes naturally and the idea of the pen pointing over the right shoulder is, at least as a rule, entirely modern: the good *Italics* of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries certainly did not use it. Obliqueness of hold, however, is also a quality which is modified gradually in ordinary writing throughout the medieval period, with a resulting increase in finger-pressure on the nib. The extent to which change was occurring in the most formative part of the post-medieval period (about the first quarter of the sixteenth century) may be gauged by examining the angles of the pen's edge to the horizontal in the Plate (xxvii) of mixed 'State Paper' hands: these are Number (iii.)  $45^{\circ}$ ; (iv.)  $30^{\circ}$ ; (v.)  $50^{\circ}$ ; (vi.)  $35^{\circ}$ ; (vii.)  $45^{\circ}$ ; (viii.)  $40^{\circ}$ . It would seem that there was in general a decline in pen-angle in the early and middle fifteenth century; then a rise, at least in some hands (helped

\* § II, p. II.

† David Brown, whom we cited above, was revolting against the cutting part of the rule in 1622.

no doubt by the example of the *Special Set Hands*), and a fairly high average about the beginning of the sixteenth century: then a gradual falling off.

In the matter of actual fingering the French and Italian Masters taught a curious method\*—that of holding between thumb and one finger only: but this was for the *Italic Hand* and there is no evidence that it ever obtained much following in England, though it is cited by several writers.

What we may call the reversed oblique cut, in which the right-hand part of the nib is longer, instead of shorter, than the left, is an occasional characteristic which crops up in all periods: it appears for instance in certain steel pens at the present day: but in our period it is probably the result of accident rather than design. Its effect is to make the thickest stroke upon an upward (push) rather than a downward (pull) action of the pen and one of its most obvious products is the slovenly *n* which looks like a pure rounded *u*: as in Plate xxix.

SIZE OF WRITING. The early small writings of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were probably obtained by the use of a specially small quill. The gradual growth which led up to a definitely small *set* hand in the early sixteenth century followed the change of pen-cutting already noted, which culminated in the straight-cut nib. The writings of the London Scriveners may probably be taken as giving a fair average of their times; and the following statistics are based on the *Common Paper*, the figures representing the average number of entries per page. From 1390 to 1419 this average is 3.3; 1419 to 1447 and 1447 to 1479, 4.9; 1479 to 1504, 3.9; 1505 to 1529, 4.2; 1529 to 1552, 4.8; 1553 to 1575, 6.4; 1577 to 1595, 6.3; 1596 to 1612, 5.2; and 1612 to 1628, 5.6. The variation is strong and (we may add) regular within the periods named: the marked decrease in size during the second half of the sixteenth century and a certain recovery in the following thirty years being very noticeable; as also is the abrupt decrease in the early fifteenth century from the original large *Bastard*.

THE TAPERING STROKE. Increase in the popularity of the tapering long stroke (below the line), which first becomes prominent in the late fourteenth century, also follows the development of penmanship; depending largely on pen-pressure from the forefinger; which goes with a smaller angle of the pen's edge to the horizontal. It becomes, however, a fashion in the fifteenth century and may then be produced (with some difficulty) even by writers using an old-fashioned penmanship with large pen-angle. With it goes a tendency to exaggeration in the length of these long

\* See above, § xiv.



strokes, which appears at intervals from the later fifteenth century all through the sixteenth and most of the seventeenth; being particularly common in some of the late *sloped Secretary Hands*.\*

SLOPE. The earliest regular use of uniform *right-handed* slope comes with the *Italic* in the sixteenth century. It occurs, however, not infrequently (though rather inexplicably) in rough local hands† of the fifteenth century. *Partial* slope of this kind, applied only to long strokes (generally descenders) is much earlier—it will be found with increasing frequency from the mid-fifteenth century onwards, generally associated with exaggerated length of the strokes in question. Pronounced *backward* slope occurs sporadically in small hands throughout our period and indeed in all periods.‡ In what I have called the *Splayed Hands* of the fifteenth century (see § XI) it affects, of course, only short strokes. Backward slope is a mark of affected, but not necessarily of bad, hand-writing.

STYLE AND TASTE. The comparative badness and goodness of writing is to some extent a matter of personal feeling: but the following remarks may be set down for what they are worth. I should put the finest period of *Court Hand* in medieval England at about 1325; when the hands are medium to small in size, upright, the letters well-proportioned, the whole easily read and yet rapidly written; the only affectation being a beginning of the tendency to exaggerated long strokes below the line. Follows a slow deterioration up to the end of the fourteenth century, or the early part of the fifteenth, when writing is good in execution but poor in taste. The reign of Henry VI sees the degradation of the ordinary *Court Hands* to a level where there is no merit at all: the rise of the *Special Set Hands* is probably due to reaction against this. A slow recovery begins in the reign of Edward IV, and improvement increases under Henry VII, culminating in the *Secretary Hand* about 1535; though many of the old roughnesses linger far beyond that date. From this time to the first quarter of the seventeenth century is the period of intermixture between *Secretary* and *Italic*; and the average of these writings, in the matter of taste, is good, though they may be difficult to the modern reader; while the pure *Italic* maintains quite a high standard. From the mid-seventeenth century begins a slow decline into the modern copper-plate and round hand, to which reference has already been made.

It should be remembered that here, as in most matters of style in craftsmanship, England is normally a little later than continental nations.

\* See Plates XVIII (iii.), XXI (ii.), XXXI (ii.), etc.; and for earlier examples Plates IV (iii.), VI (i. and iii.), etc.

† See above, § XII.

‡ It is not uncommon, for instance, about the reign of John.

## XX

### PERSONAL MARKS, PARAPHS AND SIGNATURES

EARLY MARKS AND INTRODUCTION OF SIGNATURE. At a date long before our period the old subscription of Charters—the writing of a mark at the foot—had disappeared and been replaced by lists of witnesses' names,\* authentication being of course by seal: with the exception of Notaries' Marks this method of authentication was practically the only one throughout the thirteenth and much of the fourteenth centuries. Then slowly there came in again the idea of personal subscription; but now it was a writing of words,<sup>†</sup> or more generally his personal name, either by the principal person involved or by the writer of the document. In the fourteenth century such writing is still quite exceptional, even in the case of our Scriveners: these last wrote it in the *Common Paper* because of an ordinance, designed to prevent fraud, by which they were compelled to put their names on deeds which they wrote professionally; a custom already in existence (perhaps for some time) in the case of certain writs issuing from the Royal Courts.<sup>‡</sup> The practice, however, was more by way of reference than authentication: the writer took no responsibility except for accuracy in drafting or copying, and although, when this ordinance lapsed, the Scriveners continued to write their names in the *Common Paper* the care with which many of them record this fact<sup>§</sup> makes it clear that the procedure was not altogether usual. In Public Administration the use of signature or initials for authentication begins to gain ground slowly in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries: we get first a few informal Warrants authenticated by the king's signature<sup>||</sup> instead of his seal; then, during the minority of Henry VI, Warrants signed by a number of members of the Council<sup>¶</sup> begin to appear. Gradually, from one cause or another, the habit spreads and we find parties to a private deed adding their names on or above the tags by which their seals are attached—at first, perhaps, mainly by way of identification.\*\* Then comes the private-letter-writing period of the late fifteenth century, when the signature of a letter becomes more common

\* Cp. Giry, A., *Manuel de Diplomatique*: Paris, 1894: p. 608.

† e.g. the *Pater Sancte* of Edward III's letter to the Pope (see *Court Hand Illustrated*, Plate xxii (b)).

‡ Cp. Plate xli (i.) of 19 Richard II and Fig. 28 below: see also Plate xxiii (vi.).

§ For example *mea propria manu una cum cognomine et signo meis solitis*. Note that till quite late they practically always wrote their names in Latin.

|| The earliest *Signed Bill* is one by Richard II (now in the Record Office Museum).

¶ For an example see *Court Hand Illustrated*, Plate xxxviii (b). Early Council Warrants contain merely a statement that such and such members were present.

\*\* The need for this would be felt in the fifteenth century, when parties to a deed were often numerous and of a station which did not possess armorial or otherwise distinctive seals. It is not, of course, certain in all such cases that the parties wrote themselves.



than otherwise and the seal is used definitely to close it. By the sixteenth century signature has become habitual and may be reckoned (along with the *Italic Hand*, the use of the vernacular and the private-letter form for important public business, and so forth) typical of the post-medieval period: while the employment of the seal for authentication only (*i.e.* apart from the practical purpose of guaranteeing a communication intact) is confined to conventional uses,\* is (even there) used frequently in combination with signature and has become largely formal—so much so that more than one person may use the same seal.† At what time the word *signature* was first used as we use it is not certain:‡ there was probably at first a good deal of confusion in the use of such phrases as *signum manuale*: and I have seen the word *signe* used for a mark so late as 1612.§

STUDY AND IDENTIFICATION OF HANDS. The study of Autographs|| thus becomes a part (at present much neglected) of Palaeographical equipment. It is too large a subject to treat in detail here but we may introduce one particular caution to the student—he is not to assume the existence in the sixteenth, or even in the seventeenth, century of modern ideas of morality with regard to the signature: a clerk, for example, copying a signed letter will give artistic verisimilitude to his rendering of the signature and think no harm. In most publications up to now of documents of this period such words as *holograph* have been used with very little attempt at proof or precision.¶ We may also take this opportunity to insert a strong caution against optimism in the identification of hands. Few if any students can hope to become as familiar with the hands of a past age as they are with those of their own generation; yet even in modern times mistaken identification of a correspondent is very frequent: the inference is clear but it is surprising how few editors draw it.

VARIETIES OF SIGNATURE. The most usual adornment or amplification of a signature is the *paraph*, which will be noticed below:\*\* but a few other peculiarities of our period may be specially mentioned here. The most marked is the habit of

\* *e.g.* on Deeds—where, of course, it still survives.

† The most remarkable case of this I have met was pointed out to me by Mr C. T. Clay: Harrison, on the Warrant for the Execution of Charles I, made use of Cromwell's signet! Less sensational examples are of common occurrence.

‡ According to Giry (*op. cit.*) the sixteenth century. The earliest quotation in the *New English Dictionary* is of 1663 (one of 1580 refers to a Notary's Mark).

§ In an Account of the King's Mulberry Garden in *Exchequer of Receipt, Miscellanea* (E. 407), 128.

|| For some hints on this subject and a list of Authorities see Jenkinson, H., *On Autographs* in 'History,' July 1923, p. 98 *et seq.* Published since that date is the very fine collection of Facsimiles of *English Literary Autographs, 1550–1650, Part 1, Dramatists* (Oxford, 1925), edited by W. W. Greg.

¶ See article quoted above. F. Devon (*Deputy Keeper's Reports*, vii, ii, 279) believed that the 'signatures' to the original *Acknowledgements of Supremacy* (temp. Henry VIII) were often added by the writer of the deed.

\*\* See also under DECORATION in § XXVI.

using *Italic Hand* for the signature to a more or less *Secretary Hand* document; which may be expected so soon as the *Italic* is introduced, *i.e.* in the reign of Henry VIII or even slightly earlier.\* In the *Common Paper* the practice does not appear till late—1554:† and in the next twenty years out of a total of nearly eighty only twelve signatures‡ use the *Italic*—an indication that this writing was at first very much a literary or fashionable accomplishment. It is not till the end of the century that *Italic* begins to hold its own in these signatures; but in the first ten years of the seventeenth century it very much reverses the position:§ not infrequently, however, our Scriveners sign in both hands: one (Fig. 26 below) signs in three *Italic Hands* and writes his subscription, as usual, in *Secretary*.

*Signatures in the Set Hands* are not common, though they occur both in the *Common Paper*|| and elsewhere. Clerks of the Courts (especially the *Chancery Cursistae*) will from time to time be found signing in their own special writing.¶

Another small matter is the trick of writing initials\*\* or signature *very large* (Fig. 25) and sometimes with all letters of the same height; as appears in the

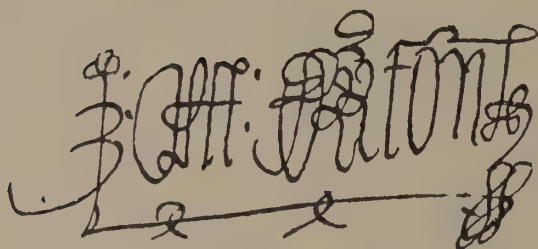


Fig. 25

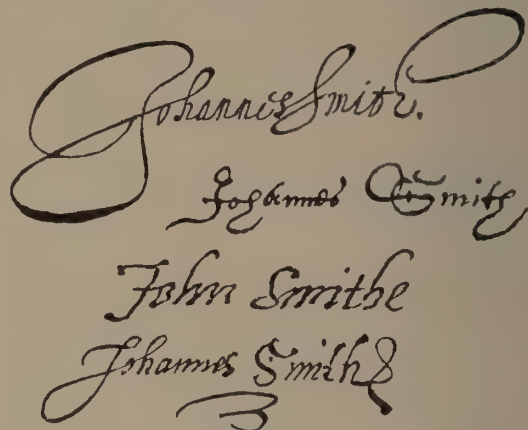


Fig. 26

accompanying difficult signature:†† this habit is not common in the fifteenth century or in old-fashioned hands but becomes frequent in the *Italic*.‡‡ This last, however, is outside our province as are the various methods of decorating it used in

\* See above, § XIV.

† See Plate XIV (vi.).

‡ Of these one (see Plate XVI (i.)) signs his Christian name in *Italic* and his surname in *Secretary*.

§ Appearing in nearly 80 per cent. of the entries.

|| See a legal example in Plate XIII (ii.): cp. XII (ii.) and XVI (iv.).

¶ *Chancery* examples will be found in the *Cursitors' Roll* (from which our Plate XXXVII is taken) and in

occasional Receipts, etc. from Chancery officials.

\*\* See the example of Henry VII's initials (not his largest size) in Plate XXVII and other Royal autographs in Hardy, W. J., *Handwritings of the Kings and Queens of England* (1893).

†† From *Court of Requests, Proceedings*, 23/19/1, of the reign of Philip and Mary. The signature is that of *Ra: Egg'ton*.

‡‡ An example (but not a very good one) appears in Fig. 7 above.



the sixteenth, seventeenth and even eighteenth centuries, of which the *lettre frisée* is the most usual—the employment of waved lines in letter formation instead of straight ones: an example of this appears in the Fig. 26 above which shews signatures of John Smith (note the three spellings), three in *Italic* and one in *Secretary*.<sup>\*</sup> Traces of the *frisée* may often be found quite late in the eighteenth century.

Yet another small matter which requires passing mention is the possible revival on occasion of the *Monogram*: and another the possible use of a stamp for signature.<sup>‡</sup> This may serve to take us on to a larger topic.

NOTARIES' MARKS. We have spoken already<sup>§</sup> of the position of the Notary Public in England: it did not lead to the frequent appearance of these marks in Archives, though examples are found from time to time and we shew some typical ones from the *Common Paper*.<sup>||</sup> The origin of their form (which shews a distinct homogeneity over a long period),<sup>¶</sup> their distribution, registration and so forth still await an elaborate investigation over Archives in many countries. Registration of English Notaries' Marks was not, of course, made in this country while they remained under foreign control and after the Reformation usage in this matter seems to have been loose: of seven Notaries Public attesting documents in two bundles of papers recently examined\*\* of the years 1648 and 1653 one has an ordinary mark, one uses a paraph specially arranged as a mark, one uses a stamped mark with motto added in writing, two use particularly complicated series of paraphs surrounding their signatures, one an ordinary paraph and one nothing except a flourished signature. So far as can be judged looseness of practice also appears in the *Common Paper*:<sup>††</sup> but the theory<sup>‡‡</sup> that, at any period, the use of a paraph alone necessarily indicates a Notary must not be taken seriously in view of the historical development of the paraph set out below and its free use by all kinds of non-professional writer.

Finally we may note that long before the day of Notaries' Marks printed from a stamp several<sup>§§</sup> of the Notaries of our *Common Paper* either drew their design with a stile before inking or used a dry stamp for the purpose.

\* *Common Paper*, p. 168.

† It is not infrequent on seals.

‡ The use of this practice by Henry VIII is well known, that by Henry VI and Edward VI not so much so. The only example I have met of its use by a private person was in the case of a foreigner in 1629 in *High Court of Admiralty, Examinations*, 48.

§ See above, § VI, and the works there cited.

|| Plates I, III, VI, VII, XV.

¶ Even much later (1653) an English Notary prints

from a block a mark singularly like some of our medieval ones (example in *High Court of Admiralty, Examinations*, 184).

\*\* *Examinations* just cited and *ibid.*, 183.

†† A Notary appears without mark in Plate XI.

‡‡ Suggested by Dr Freshfield's article in *Archæologia*, LIV, Pt II, p. 239.

§§ For instance, Cossier and Seman, whose marks are shewn in Plate I. The impressed lines are visible from the other side of the leaf.

PARAPHS.\* The development of these formal flourishes added to the signature is well shewn in the *Common Paper*; which in this instance probably reflects accurately the fashions for the medieval period in England, though it must not be taken as a criterion for close dating. We begin with a kind of enclosing bracket to the signature and from that pass to a simple underline soon after 1400: this continues fairly popular for over a century. The underline begins to shew about 1425 a tendency to turn over into a loop at one or both ends: an example of 1437 appears in Plate iv (i.). This loop repeated several times by a continuous action of the pen, and with the successive loops interlocking, so as to give us a figure with a series of diamonds in the middle and curves above or below, as in Plate v (iii.) of 1446, produces the typical paraph; parallel to a style of ornamentation for capitals which we shall notice below.† This form, which soon (about 1430) begins to be made separately at the end of the signature, lasts as may be judged from the annexed figure of 1571 well into the Elizabethan period, and indeed beyond.‡

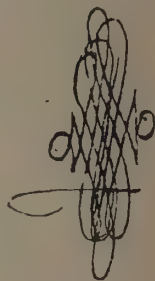


Fig. 27

The introduction of the *Italic Hand*, though it did not oust the old, brought with it a new form. The paraph generally used with it is one in which the only angles are those formed by the intersections of the loops, and attention is concentrated rather on the curves, as in Plate xv (ii.). In the *Common Paper* these appear occasionally before 1580 and are common after that date: but indeed they occur with *Italic* signatures everywhere. One reason for their more curved appearance is that they tend to make their longer strokes run horizontally rather than vertically.

We may note a certain fashion in the placing of the paraph. Soon after 1500 it begins to be placed in the middle between the two names; about 1540 it appears below the signature and a little later we have some examples of its use at the beginning; and sometimes two of these practices will be combined. We may also note the occasional appearance§ from 1450 on of a paraph incorporating or having added to it, as in the annexed example,|| the initials or name of the signatory or a date.¶ Finally about 1580 the round (*Italic*) style begins to appear as part of the actual letters of the signature.\*\*



Fig. 28

\* The first use of this word noted in the *New English Dictionary* is in Lloyd's *Cambria* (1584).

† § xxvi.

‡ Cp. Plate xx (ii.).

§ Only about 20 in all appear in the *Common Paper*.

|| From *Chancery, Warrants*, Ser. I, 1385/10.

¶ Cp. Plates ix (iii.), xiii (ii.), xvi (v.).

\*\* Cp. Plate xxi (i.).



The use of paraps seems to be going out slowly at the end of our period: in 1590 only about half the signatories to the *Common Paper* use them and in 1610 about a third. But they have never entirely disappeared.

MERCHANTS' AND OTHER TRADE MARKS. The existence of these, especially those of Merchants, is of course well known, but until a recent publication\* has been dealt with only in scattered articles and even now awaits further study. The marks might serve various purposes according to the connection in which they were used—the guaranteeing of quality, the maintenance of craft monopoly, identification. In the last appears a connection with our subject, for many men in the fifteenth century who did not bear arms used their mark on their seals and from these it might easily spread to writing. Merchants' marks, of which we have here three specimens† belonging to members of the Cely family, do in fact appear not infrequently in Archives‡ and though I have not seen an example of their use as substitute for a signature what appears to be one (here reproduced) figures instead of a paraph in a single instance in the *Common Paper*:§ and it is more than possible that these and other trade marks affected sometimes the design|| of the personal marks to be described in the next paragraph: from Bedfordshire I have received¶ examples (dated 1607) of marks described in the form ...*his sheape marke*.

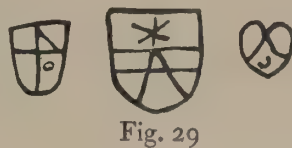


Fig. 29

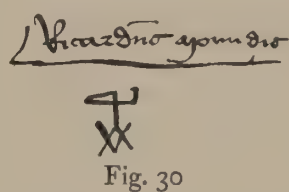


Fig. 30

MARKS OF ILLITERATE PERSONS. In the post-medieval period, after signature had become the accepted method of authenticating, while at the same time the number of illiterate people called upon to take part from time to time in business processes requiring writing had become much larger, came a revival of the old subscription by mark.

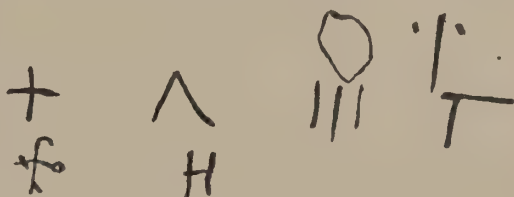


Fig. 31

This might take the form of the simplest arrangement of strokes, as in the series

\* Schechter, F. I., *The Historical Foundations of the Law relating to Trade Marks*: Columbia University Press, 1925: an excellent bibliography of the subject. A good idea of possibilities in the study of marks in other countries is given by Gmür, M., *Schweizerische Bauernmarken und Holzkurkunden*: Bern, 1917.

† From *Ancient Correspondence*, 53: they belong apparently to William, Richard and John Cely. They are not discussed in the Historical Society's edition of these letters.

‡ For instance, in Accounts and Bills of Lading.

§ p. 98: signature of *Ricardus Moundis*.

|| The design of the marks themselves would of course be affected by the materials in which their makers worked. The cooper, for example, made his with a scribe on wood; producing a very different result from the sheep-owner, who painted his mark on the fleece.

¶ From *Bedfordshire County Muniments*, A. B. E. 1/1 (Barton); kindly sent me by Dr G. H. Fowler.

# PERSONAL MARKS, PARAPHS AND SIGNATURES

belonging to about the year 1600 here reproduced (Fig. 31),\* or be more ambitious as in another selection taken from an account-book of the time of Henry VIII (Fig. 32).† Here we have first a rough signature, then an attempt at the initials of Hugh Hill, then *par'kar'* for the surname of Hugh Parker, then two attempts at a Christian name (*Hugo* in each case), then the initial A of Angelo Usk and then what is apparently meant for the hammer and tongs of a Master Smith.

The whole of this subject would repay working,‡ with comparison of one kind of mark with another and of all with the seals§ found on certain types of document. It should not be forgotten that a man not highly literate might use sometimes a signature, sometimes a mark. In a case already cited|| the name appeared in an account of one year, the mark in another, later.

Fig. 32

\* From Letters of Attorney in *Exchequer, Augmentation Office, Misc. Books*, 472, f. 74.

† From receipts by small officials (messengers, etc.), temp. Henry VIII in *Exchequer, K. R., Accounts* (E. 101), 425/9.

‡ Local and private Archives might be particularly fruitful.

§ Good examples recently noted of seals with marks were some of the reign of Henry VII on *Exchequer, K. R., Inquisitions post mortem*, II, 1211.

|| E. 407/128, signature and mark of William Stallenge, accounting for the King's Mulberry Garden in the years 1609 and 1612.



# XXI

## SYMBOLS AND CIPHERS

Many of the symbols still in use date from our period and a few of these which may appear from time to time in Archives call for a passing mention.

ASTRONOMICAL. The origin of these has not, I believe, been traced but they were well known at least in printed books of the sixteenth and seventeenth\* centuries and an Archive writer accustomed to use these may reproduce them. Thus I have seen a ship's log† of the late seventeenth century which used the astronomical symbols for the days of the week—the crescent for Monday, the 'shield and dart' for Tuesday and so forth.

MATHEMATICAL. Of the origin of these little is known and for that the student may be referred to another work:‡ the ordinary symbols (+, − and so forth) were certainly beginning to come into use at the end of our period. For the denomination of

MONEY the later part of our period continued to use the medieval abbreviations li, s and d or d. The first two were normally abbreviated as in the annexed example§ and, as will be seen, the s thus treated had often a special form, generally reserved

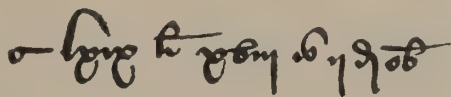


Fig. 33

for this and no other meaning: the *d* might be abbreviated by a final turn-down or left plain. The *li* with stroke through the *l* is probably the ancestor of our £, as is suggested in such current forms as the one reproduced here.¶ The post-medieval period long retained also the use of ob and q<sup>a</sup> for halfpenny and farthing. Probably the long life of all these medieval conventions is due to the fact that Arabic Numerals and modern (Italian) methods of accounting were very slow in forcing their way into any place in which the old methods were already in use.¶

WEIGHTS. The distinction between the pound *weight* and the pound *money* was certainly recognized at the very beginning of our period and, sometimes at least, expressed in writing; the modern lb (but with abbreviation, of course, lb) being reserved for weight. A good example of 1393\*\* recently noted refers to a *subsidium*

\* e.g. Tocquet, Andrew, *Opera Mathematica* (Antwerp, 1669), p. 222.

† *Admiralty*, 51/138, part 2, of 1692.

‡ Smith, D. E., *History of Mathematics*, Boston, 1923, Vol. II.

§ From *Exchequer, T. R., Misc. Books*, 8: the amount is lxix li' xvij s' ij d' ob'. This is the document used for Alphabet 3.

¶ From *Chancery, Reports and Certificates*, 29, under

date 12 June 1617.

¶ In some cases they did not win recognition till the nineteenth century: see an Article on *Numerals* cited in the next section.

\*\* *Exchequer of Receipt, Receipt Rolls* (E. 401), 592, under date Friday, 16 May. The usage would probably be found in many other places: cp. examples in *Exchequer, K. R., Accounts* (E. 101), 402/10 and 403/22, also of the late fourteenth century.

of *iiij. s(olidorum). de dolio et xij. d(enariorum) de lb* coming to *x li xix s'*. A later example will be seen in Plate xxii. Note also the retention of the old-fashioned *C*\* in the abbreviation for hundredweight in Plate xxxiii (ii.).

Finally we may note the occurrence of systems of signs to indicate days of work and off-days in Building Accounts and the like: both circles and crosses and circles and discs (○ and ●)<sup>†</sup> have been remarked and probably other simple devices of the same kind may be found from time to time adapted to the needs of different kinds of accounts.

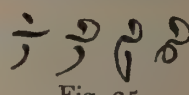
MARGINAL SIGNS AND OTHER REFERENCE MARKS. The most common of these (particularly in Accounts: but it appears also with frequency elsewhere) is the current form of the early medieval sign for *est*, originally written  $\frac{+}{-}$  or  $\div$ . The  examples here given<sup>‡</sup> are from a date before our period, but its evolution had not been shewn before: and the mark has often been interpreted wrongly, as meaning *S* with abbreviation. At a later date what are probably derivatives of the same take still more curious forms, as in Plate xliv. This symbol is used to indicate a check of any kind—any adjective, in fact, or past participle, may be supplied with the *est*.<sup>§</sup>

Fig. 35

Other marginals are more limited in their occurrence and we must not attempt to catalogue them: those of the *Pipe Roll* and related documents may be mentioned as typical, especially the *t*, *p* and *d*:<sup>||</sup> the symmetrical figure developed out of a current single-action *t*,<sup>¶</sup> with or without dots, is seen in the annexed illustration:<sup>\*\*</sup> see also Plate xxxviii (ii.).

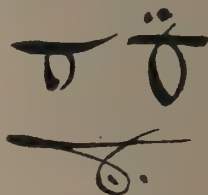


Fig. 36

The medieval practice of labelling classes or repositories of documents with pictorial marks (a heart, a crown, animals' heads and so forth) still extended in the fifteenth century to use in the body of a MS. for purposes of cross-reference.<sup>††</sup> I am not aware of post-medieval examples of this, though the labelling use continued.<sup>‡‡</sup>

\* I have noted this also in *Colonial Office*, 388/15, of 1690.

† For example see a Chertsey account of the reign of Henry VIII in *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, xxviii. Another of about the same date occurs in *Exchequer, K. R., Accounts* (E. 101), 474/7.

‡ All are from the margin of a single membrane of *Curia Regis Roll* (K.B. 25), 169, of 1260. Many other examples might be quoted—e.g. *Exch., L. T. R., Memoranda Rolls*, 99, m. 94, of 1 Edward III; where the sign is used both as a marginal and for *est* in the text: cp. also Plate xxxix.

§ Cp. the wine (*Est-est-est*) of a famous medieval story.

|| Total payments, part payments and desperate debts.

¶ Such as that described in § vii above.

\*\* From *L. T. R., Pipe Rolls*, 494 of the year 1649 and *Exchequer, L. T. R., Estreats*, 1/15.

†† Cp. *Chertsey Cartulary* (ed. Surrey Record Society), p. viii. A curious mark in the *Chancery Treaty Rolls*, resembling a cannon, is very persistent; occurring through the period Edward IV to Henry VIII.

‡‡ Agarde's *Compendium* (1611) of Records in the Treasury of the Receipt printed in Palgrave, Sir F., *Antient Inventories...*, 1826, offers numerous examples and it will be found quite late in Legal Records.



MEDICAL. Symbols such as those reproduced here\* deserve a passing mention if only for the occurrence so early as the fifteenth century of signs still used in modern prescriptions for measurement of drachms and scruples. We turn from these to the important matter of

37

37

Fig. 37

STENOGRAPHY. The use of short-hand is of course only the logical conclusion to the idea of special signs of Abbreviation; and, as has already been pointed out, some of our special signs go back to a classical system of short writing. The use of actual short-hand in England seems to have become common in the seventeenth century and many systems are known; but a large number of treatises on the subject, and bibliographies, have been published; and it may suffice here to mention three† of these.

The use of such systems, or a modification of them, by a busy writer or one desiring secrecy will naturally occur. Samuel Pepys‡ is the obvious case in point; and another good example is Sir Edward Nicholas,§ whose system has been described in a recent work.|| The last only uses signs for certain words: but there is a similarity between some of these and Shelton's later short-hand.¶ The use of short-hand seems to have spread widely in the latter part of the century if we may judge by one rather curious example.\*\* Another instance (1644), recently noted locally,†† of the passion for mystification shews us Greek letters used for a mixed Latin and English phrase:

q νεποσ πυλλειν κογνουιτ qνενδαμ υιρ εμερε  
αλλμικολτσ ανδόρσες φακιτοκιτω.

The interpretation may be left to the student. The example serves to carry us on to the subject of Cipher.

CIPHERS. Of these, which occur frequently in the *State Papers*, especially the Foreign Classes, of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, we need not here say

\* From *Ancient Correspondence*, 46, No. 261; which contains also a rendering—an<sup>a</sup>—of the Greek ἀνα.

† Westby-Gibson, J., *The Bibliography of Short-hand*, 1887 (gives a chronological list of Authors, 1586–1787): *Catalogue of Books on Short-hand, Cryptography, etc. in the Library of Robert Todd, Esq.*, Hadley Green, Barnet, 1912 (over 1100 titles, 1525–1912): Anderson, T., *History of Short-hand*, 1882, gives useful comparative tables of symbols.

‡ See Wheatley's edition of the *Diary*, I, p. vi and *Pepysiana*, pp. 76 and 272, where facsimiles are given. Pepys used Shelton's *Tachygraphia* of 1641.

§ His writing, but without short-hand, is seen in Plate xxxiv (i.).

|| Notestein, W., and Relf, F. H., *Commons Debates for 1629*: Minneapolis, 1921, giving a plate of his 'Word Signs'. Note however that some of these are merely ordinary abbreviations, such as *p<sup>a</sup>* for *paid*.

¶ Notably in the symbol for the name of God.

\*\* That of a Nonconformist butcher at Godalming who used it for taking down sermons about the year 1690 (*Surrey Archaeological Collections*, xxvii).

†† *Ibid.*, xxxvii, p. 1, in an article by V. B. Redstone on the writer, Sir Thomas Dawes.

much: the symbols employed are generally well-known ones—ordinary letters, Greek letters, Arabic numerals, and a few special signs—and for obvious reasons are written distinctly; the deciphering has not infrequently been written in by a contemporary hand between the lines, as in our example in Plate xxxii; and decipher codes exist in considerable numbers both among the *State Papers*\* and in the British Museum and private collections. We may conclude by some reference to a number of works on the subject.† Cipher is not infrequently used chiefly or only for names as in the annexed illustration.‡

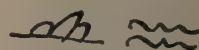


Fig. 38

\* The class of *State Papers Foreign, Ciphers*, dating from Elizabeth to George III.

† See the two bibliographies of Stenography cited above, which deal also with Cryptography: and such works as Bazeris, E., *Les chiffres secrets dévoilés*, Paris, 1901; Delastelle, F., ... *Traité... de cryptographie*, Paris, 1902; Rouse Ball, W. W., *Mathematical Recreations* (10th ed.), 1922, chap. xiv; Wheatstone, C., *Interpre-*

*tation of an important historical document in cipher*, 1862, 1863; and Langie, André (transl. Macbeth, J. C. H.), *Cryptography*, 1922.

‡ Used by the Countess of Northumberland in correspondence with William Cotton for her name and his in *State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth*, 107, No. 33, of 1576; which is also addressed in the cipher.



## XXII

### NUMERALS

The question of the use of Arabic numerals in English Archives has been discussed recently in some detail elsewhere:\* we may therefore summarize only here the principal matters.

APPEARANCE IN ENGLAND. Algorism was not popular in medieval England but the figures begin to appear regularly in foliation, in dates *anno domini*,† in indexes and alphabets, and in marginal notes to accounts, in the last quarter of the fifteenth century; becoming fairly plentiful in the first quarter of the sixteenth. All these uses represent rather new-fangled customs: examination shews that in a very large proportion of administrations, public or private, where accounting had gone on long before this time, the old system, and with it the use of Roman numerals, continued unchanged until the eighteenth or even the nineteenth century; as did also the old systems of dating and other numeration. Merchants' Books had probably never been kept in England on anything like a generally-received system and accordingly this class took up readily in the sixteenth century the Italian system of accounting‡ and the use of Arabic numerals. It must also be remembered that until well on in the seventeenth century the counting-board and the old method of digital computation were in general use in this country: and that until the very end of this century Writing Masters did not include copies of Arabic figures in their books.

OLD FORMS OF FIGURES. We shew to illustrate these a set of figures not from Archives but from a formally written Chronicle of the late fourteenth century:§ the foliation is 172 (given twice): the figures (first line) . 2277 . 3218 3509 . 5165 . (and below) 4 . 1220 . 1795. Note the old forms of 0, 4, 5, 6 and 7: the last is more usually a plain lambda form, without foot, as in the foliation. With these compare two late fifteenth century examples|| from a merchant's book; the

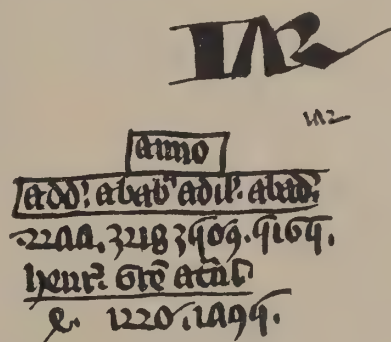


Fig. 39

\* See my article in *Antiquaries' Journal*, vi, p. 263, and the references there given. Our Figures 40 to 48, 50 and 51 are reproduced from this article by kind permission of the Society of Antiquaries of London.

† An example of 1480 will be found in Plate viii.

‡ The first English book on this dates from 1543; for the whole subject of *Books on Accounting* up to 1600 see an article by Cosmo Gordon in *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, xiii, p. 145.

§ *Lambeth MSS.* 12, the *Historia Aurea* of John of Newcastle, written between 1347 and 1395. I am indebted to my colleague Mr V. H. Galbraith for shewing me this and to His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury for leave to reproduce it: the figures give the date in different forms (*a David, ab Abraham*, etc.).

|| From *Chancery, Miscellanea*, 37/10 (Cely Papers). The mixture of Roman and Arabic forms, or their use alternatively, is at first not uncommon.

second shewing a Roman *M* still mixed with the newer Arabics. Note in both the tendency to follow the forms of letters they resemble: 5 follows *h*, 6 follows *G* (cp. the word *Gracie* above the year 1220), 8 and 9 two forms of *g*; and 3 often (like 3) has a tail finally turning to the right as in Fig. 45 below.

Fig. 40

SURVIVAL OF THESE FORMS. They may be expected to continue mixed, as in the annexed example (Fig. 41),\* with more modern ones down to about 1550, the early form of 7, however, disappearing sooner: cp. also Fig. 45 below. It must not be forgotten that local tradition, or a locally prominent example, will often lead to the preservation of an old form long after its time: as in the annexed illustration (Fig. 42) from a Worcestershire *Parish Register*† of 1572.

Fig. 41

Fig. 42

The general form of later years is seen in examples of 1539‡ and 1575§

16

17

18

19

277:3:

20

110:

21

229:2:

22

33:5:

23

159:4:

24

26:4:

25

98:

Fig. 43

Fig. 44

Fig. 45

(Figs. 43 and 44): the forms follow those generally used now with old-face type, except that 8 tends to go below the line. No doubt the influence of the Printers was strong in this matter of figures since the Writing Master neglected it.

ADAPTATION TO VARIOUS HANDS. This is due not so much to deliberate design as to the use of special pens for the particular hands,|| which the scribe naturally did not change when he came to write numerals: Fig. 43 above, for example, is from a *Chancery Hand*. Another example (Fig. 45) of c. 1540¶ shews a similar adaptation

\* From the foliation of *Chancery, Entry Book of Decrees and Orders*, 1, of the year 1545.

† Of Stanton, near Broadway; the figure is 5.

‡ From *Chancery, Parliament Rolls*, 147.

§ From a contemporary Index to *King's Bench*,

*Doggett Rolls*.

|| See above, §§ 11 and xvi, under *Penmanship*.

¶ From *State Papers, Henry VIII*, 101, f. 193. The central column reads 1535—xl li' and so on for succeeding years.



## NUMERALS

and illustrates, besides, the survival of early forms, a transitional form of 5 and the mixing of Arabic and Roman numeration. Yet another example\* (Fig. 46) shews adaptation to a highly current writing and others will be found in the Plates.†

Fig. 46‡

A few *Special Late Forms* deserve attention. Our illustration§ (Fig. 47) shews the *i* form of figure 1 (it often takes alternatively the form of *j*, probably in order to

0010. 05<sup>c</sup>. 03.

Fig. 47

2808

Fig. 49

20 20

Fig. 48

1125. 18. 4.  $\frac{1}{2}$

2333. 18. 9.  $\frac{1}{2}$

Fig. 50

avoid confusion with 2) and also illustrates a typical method of using the zero and a seventeenth century form of 8. This 8 is sometimes most puzzling, as may be judged from a second example|| (Fig. 48): it lasts well through the eighteenth century.

The possibility of *Abnormals* may be illustrated with the very curious 5¶ of a writer (Fig. 49) of the Commonwealth period: the number is 1508.

FRACTIONS. The compound fraction is long avoided; the expression  $\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{8}$ , for example, being preferred to  $\frac{5}{8}$ . The only noteworthy form is that used for  $\frac{1}{2}$ , as in the annexed illustration,\*\* which gives also typical renderings of 5 and 3 in the two large sums (1125 and 2333) (Fig. 50).

\* from *Privy Council Registers* (P. C. 2), 3, f. 100.

† e.g. Plates xiv and xvi.

‡ This date reads *Saterday the xxijth of ffebruary 1549*. This use of *th*, perhaps to suggest *two and twentieth*, etc., is not uncommon in the sixteenth century.

§ from *Exchequer, K. R., Certificates of Sale of Crown Lands* (E. 121), 4/8, of the year 1650.

|| from *Admiralty, Victualling Accounts*, 48, of 1665/6.

See also excellent examples in the paging of the *P. C. Register* for 1660 (pp. 80 to 85).

¶ from *State Papers, Domestic, Interregnum*, G., 177, p. 243.

\*\* from *Exchequer of Receipt* (E. 405), 241, ff. 31, 32, of 1555. I have seen the form as late as 1691.

ROMAN NUMERALS follow normally the contemporary hands\*. An exception is supplied by the absurd and unreadable numeration of certain *Plea Rolls*, of which we give a single example† (Fig. 52). We illustrate also a *Chancery* speciality—a rendering of the numeral x‡ used in labelling rolls (Fig. 51): others may be found occasionally but are not important. The student may be referred elsewhere in the matter of marginal *computation by dots*,§ which survived as long as the popular use of the abacus, if not longer. An example of the sixteenth century occurs in Plate xxix.



Fig. 51

\* For peculiarities in arrangement of the letters see above, § xxi.

† from *Common Pleas, Recovery Rolls*, 1, of 1583:

the number is *xlvij*.

‡ For this numeral see also § xvii and Fig. 24 above.

§ See my article cited above.



Fig. 52



## XXIII

### PUNCTUATION, ACCENTS AND THE APOSTROPHE

This subject is one of importance because along certain lines of research, notably literary ones, punctuation is being used more and more as an instrument of criticism. Much work remains to be done but among the preliminary considerations, which have been treated more fully elsewhere,\* the following are salient.

MEDIEVAL USAGE. The fifteenth century used in Archives the full point (.) and sometimes the same doubled (..); something like a comma though frequently in a reversed position (ç), which has been rendered as a comma in transcription in this book; the *virgula* strictly so called (/), a more or less diagonal line sometimes merging into the comma; a more emphasized pause, the semi-colon reversed (ꞑ), rendered here as semi-colon; a combination of *punctum* and *virgula* (·/), which might even sometimes be doubled; a period mark, consisting of an arrangement of dots, lines and flourishes according to the writer's taste, to mark the end of a paragraph or document;† and two distinct paragraph marks (for which see below)‡ to mark a commencement: with the horizontal dash, flourishes for filling up the line or carrying down part of a word, brackets and so forth.§

Unfortunately the medieval, and particularly the late medieval, writer used these facilities with the greatest looseness. Examples will be found in our Plates not only of careless punctuation (that is general) but also of writing almost or quite without punctuation,|| of different stops used interchangeably¶ and of punctuation which appears to be purely ornamental.

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY AND LATER.\*\* All the stops mentioned above, and its bad habits in the use of them, the fifteenth century passed on to the sixteenth: for example the *virgula* with *punctum* was still in use in the seventeenth century.†† The writers of the sixteenth century, however, were influenced also by printing and the rules which, occasionally, printers observed;‡‡ by foreign ideas; and by an

\* See Jenkinson, H., 'Notes on the Study of Punctuation of the sixteenth century' in *Review of English Studies*, April 1926: with Authorities there cited.

† e.g. Plates I (ii.), II (i.) and (ii.), III, IV, VII, etc.

‡ § XXIV.

§ *Ibid.*

|| e.g. Plates I (i.) and (ii.), VIII (i.), IX (i.) and (ii.), XXIV, XXV (i.), XLII.

¶ e.g. Plates VI, VII, XXIII.

\*\* An authority of this period who has not been noticed as much as he deserves is Hume, Alexander,

*Of the Orthographie and Congruitie of the Britan Tongue*, written apparently about 1617 and edited by H. B. Wheatley for the E. E. T. S. in 1865. The editor notes that Hume, though he does not mention the semi-colon, uses it freely; also that since the author's punctuation was 'extremely unsystematic' he has sometimes 'dispensed with' it. Editor and author are, in fact, both highly typical of their periods.

†† Cp. Plates XXI, XXXII, XXXIV.

‡‡ Aldus printed in his *Orthographiae Ratio* (1566) an *Interpungendi Ratio*.

improved scholarship which might even take them back to the Latin grammarians.\* They begin to shew some signs of a desire for systematic punctuation; a notable evidence of which is the addition of the *colon*,† the *interrogation mark* and (particularly) the pair of *round brackets*‡ to their repertoire: they also introduce the modern forms of *comma* and *semi-colon*.§ But so far as they have standards these are still individual: the dramatist, for example, may punctuate with a quite different purpose from that which moves the archive-writer; who, indeed, continues in some cases to be bound by medieval conventions.||

ARCHIVE EVIDENCE FOR PUNCTUATION. It follows that in using Archives as evidence for punctuation one has to weigh carefully the comparative strength of new influences on the one hand and old conventions on the other: the evidence of Elizabethan *State Papers*, for example, is in quite a different class from that of *Plea Rolls* or *Chancery Rolls*¶ of the same period.

It follows also, since progress of knowledge is here dependent on the accumulation of a very large amount of evidence in accessible form, that it is particularly desirable to reproduce the original punctuation in transcriptions printed. We may add a note that exact accuracy in transcribing odd punctuation is particularly difficult to attain. Some errors will probably be found in the transcripts in this volume; though I hope not.

ACCENTS. This is fortunately a question which hardly touches students of English Archives. One or two rather pedantic notions such as those of accenting the second of a pair of letters (other than *i*), or of accenting *u* to distinguish it from *n*,\*\* or accenting the final *a* of a first declension noun or adjective when it denotes an ablative, or the like, appear from time to time in the experimental period of the late fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries: they are probably of foreign origin as a rule.

The dot on *i* (and *y*) takes mediævally the form of an accent and its use corresponds with those noted above except that it is more practical and that we frequently find

\* Thus Tory in his *Champ fleury* (1529) quotes the elaborate system of Orobios (eleven varieties) though his own is much simpler (three).

† Cp. Plates xviii (v.) and xix (heading).

‡ Cp. Plates xvi (i.), xx, xxi (i.) and xxviii.

§ For examples see Plate xxxi, etc. In Plate xxxvi (iii.) we have a suggestion of the origin of inverted commas.

|| Even now some legal documents omit punctuation.

¶ For examples of Chancery practice see Plates xxxvi and xxxvii.

\*\* An example will be found in a late fifteenth century letter of Elizabeth Stonor in *Ancient Correspondence*, 46, No. 116. In this case the mark used is that of the common semi-circle with dot which usually stands for ordinary abbreviation. For a curious case (much later) of accented *c* and *a* see *State Papers, Domestic, Charles I*, 280/55, of 1634.



the double one on *ii*. The unaccented (or undotted) *i* and the accented or dotted *y* continue through the fifteenth and well into the sixteenth century and their disappearance, together with the change from the accent to the dot form, might if desired be traced with some accuracy: but it is not too important as it could never offer a very safe criterion for palaeographical criticism. More necessary is a recognition of the possible form dot or accent may take when made currently and of these specimens will be found in § VII above and in some of our alphabets.

The *cedilla*, sometimes classed as an accent, appears in English writings only very early as a means of distinguishing the *e* which stands for *æ*: any appearance of this in our period is archaistic.\*

Of the appearance of foreign accents indicating shades of pronunciation little is known and peculiarities in this connection might usefully be collected from documents of foreign origin in English Archives.†

APOSTROPHE. The appearance of this at early dates might also usefully be noted. Its popularity, if not its origin, is probably due to the printer, with whom it was a convenient substitute for the horizontal forms of abbreviation-mark: it is, of course, not unlike the old turn-over sign used for an omitted *er* or for plain abbreviation when that takes the form in which the last (vertical) part of the stroke is heavily emphasized.

\* Cp. Plate XIV (v.) and see also an example in *State Papers, Henry VIII*, 12/278.

† Recently noted examples (French) were in *State Papers, Domestic, King William's Chest*, 5/73, of 1689.

## XXIV

### PARAGRAPH MARKS AND OTHER CONVENTIONAL DIVISIONS

The *paragraph marks* of our period are well defined throughout, though their forms may vary: they are the two derived from the double long ff\* with interlocked heads, which have survived in modern printing as ¶, and from the capital C in its common medieval form with the decoration of a vertical stroke through it—the modern ¶. This is seen in something like its modern form in Plate xxii but more ordinarily in Archives appears in the curious form given it by extreme currency† (also seen in Plate xxii) which is practically the same as that of the superior a,‡ as may be judged from the accompanying figure.§

This was a very common mark, so much so as to be used sometimes for introducing a document, such as a deed, complete in one paragraph,|| or to be placed (as here) before the *summa* ending a section in an Account. ¶ It is also susceptible of decoration (Fig. 55).¶

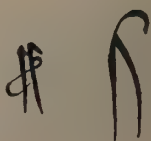


Fig. 53

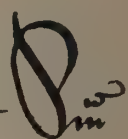


Fig. 54

Even scribes who were very lax in other respects long retained some carefulness in distinguishing between the two marks when they were employed together; ¶ being generally used for headings, ¶ for sub-divisions and even for single lines.



Fig. 55

The *bracket* is commonly used throughout our period, mainly in a form resembling the modern }. This, in combination with an underline, is used, especially in the fifteenth century, to frame\*\* a heading, marginal or sum; or by itself to refer†† a lengthy item to a single marginal. The latter use grows to great frequency in the later part of our period in connection with Accounts (as these grew long) to establish the relationship between their different parts which in modern book-keeping is shewn by other methods. Thus we may either have a series of small brackets (as in Fig. 56),‡‡ extending across the page in a summary, or have the long straight marginal brackets extending, singly or in parallel lines, down (some-

\* Note that in the first pair illustrated here a meaningless abbreviation has been added; this blunder of an ignorant scribe is not uncommon. The two illustrated here are from *Exchequer of Receipt, Issue Rolls* (E. 403), 628, of 1417 and *King's Bench, Controlment Rolls*, 81, of 1450.

† Cp. *Court Hand Illustrated*, p. 77: I think that the J form there shewn is really C.

‡ See above, § vii.

§ ¶ *Summa*: from *Exchequer, T. R., Misc. Books*, 8, p. 116. This document is also used for Alphabet 3.

|| Cp. Plates xxiii, xxiv.

¶ The example is from *Ministers' Accounts, Henry VIII*, 4570.

\*\* Cp. e.g. Plate i.

†† As in Plates i, ii, xxx, etc.

‡‡ from *Exchequer of Receipt*, E. 405/183, f. 96 (*temp.* Henry VII).



times) the larger part of a long roll or over a number of successive sheets or pages in order to link up the divisions of an account to intermediate and final totals.

In this use, particularly common in sixteenth and seventeenth century accounts, \*

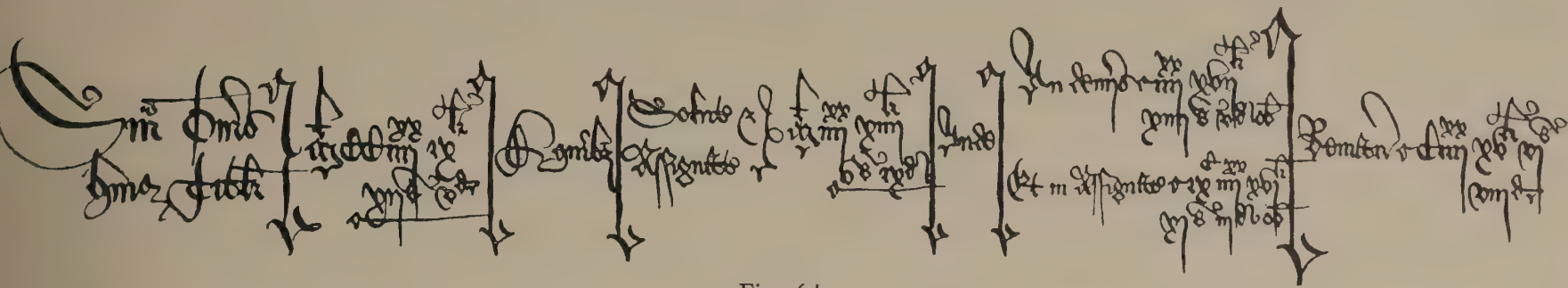



Fig. 56†

the lines are heavily ruled‡ (so heavily that sometimes the ink will eat through the paper, reducing the document to ribbons) and headed with an angular decoration such as that seen above: a similar decoration appearing also in the centre of the bracket.§

A like mark at the end of a *straight horizontal dash* is sometimes used for emphasis before a sum occurring in the middle of an account: or sometimes the paragraph mark replaces the decoration, as in Plate XLIV. When much decorated this sign is rather liable to confuse the numbering, as in the annexed illustration|| of the number *iiij*<sup>c</sup>.

The mark  used to carry up from below words or letters for which there is not room at the end of a line (as in our modern practice) appears in the fifteenth century and is seen in Plate xxv.

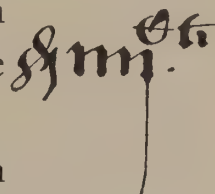


Fig. 57

The use of a flourish to fill a space at the end of the line where there is not room for the next word,¶ or to fill up an erasure when the new wording does not cover it, is common all through our period.

\* e.g. the *Declared Accounts*.

† The passage reads thus (omitting abbreviation marks over *li* etc.):

*Summa Oneris* } *M<sup>l</sup>CC iiij<sup>xx</sup> ix<sup>li</sup>* } *De quibus* { *Soluti et* } *M<sup>l</sup> iiij<sup>xx</sup> xiiij<sup>li</sup>* } *In denariis* ¶ *iiij<sup>xx</sup> xvij<sup>li</sup>*  
*huius Tituli* } *xij<sup>s</sup> v<sup>d</sup>* } *Assignati* } *v<sup>s</sup> ix<sup>d</sup>* } *Inde* { *Et in assignacionibus* ¶ *ix<sup>c</sup> iiij<sup>xx</sup> xvij<sup>li</sup>* } *Remanent* ¶ *C iiij<sup>xx</sup> xv<sup>li</sup> vj<sup>s</sup>*  
*xij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup> ob* } *viiij<sup>d</sup>*.

‡ Cp. Plate xxx.

§ For some ornamental brackets see Plates xxv, xxvi, xxix and xxx (two types).

|| from *Exchequer, L. T. R., Declared Accounts*, 1295, m. 24.

¶ See, for instance, Plate xxxix: but examples are plentiful throughout.

## ALTERATIONS AND CORRECTIONS

There is little more to be said on this subject than will be found in *Court Hand Illustrated*. Of the methods there set forth the most common in post-medieval usage are *Obliteration* and (particularly) *Striking Through* and *Interlineation*; the last generally with *caret*-mark. The form of the last remains the same, that of two strokes below the line inclined inwards till they nearly or quite meet in a narrow vertical angle: but insertions too large to be interlineated may be placed elsewhere with some other conventional mark (see below, § xxvi) which will be repeated in the text at the place to which they belong. *Erasure* is not uncommon in the post-medieval period in parchment documents or on paper when the thickness permits it.

Of the other methods *Vacation* and *Cancellation* may be found after 1500, but only as survivals in old-fashioned series or deliberate archaisms.

*Expunction* from being a series of dots under individual letters early became an *Underline*: and an example has been noted so late as 1636.\* Its use under subsidiary amounts mentioned in the course of a long account may perhaps be intended to shew that these are not to be computed, being already reckoned in the totals. The modern use of underlining for emphasis may perhaps be due to the printer's convention for suggesting *Italic*; as has been already suggested in the case of dates in Arabic numerals. The printer's use of dots where he wishes to *stet* a passage or letters is probably in origin an expunction of the wrongly made correction.

Other *Printers' Signs* for correction are not commonly used in manuscripts and need not be discussed in detail here. One or two are clearly of an earlier date than printing itself, notably the *d* | for *dele*, which is obviously the medieval *d* with final turn-down for suspension. The chief difficulty in studying this small matter (important, however, from a literary point of view) is the paucity of material.†

\* *Colonial Office*, 1/9, No. 29.

† Mr H. L. Pink sends me a note of two examples in Cambridge University Library, Add. 154 (Adv.

G.) and the *Lycidas* fragment of 1638 (Adv. 543, G.) which is reproduced in Milton's Poems, 1645: type-facsimile, Clarendon Press, 1924.



## XXVI

### DECORATION

**METHODS.** The Scriveners, as we have seen, were quite distinct from the Writers of Text and the Limners and we must not attempt to deal here with the methods of decoration proper to *Text Hands*: they make in fact no more than an occasional appearance\* in Archives, though slight traces of their style may be observed from time to time.† But the *Court Hand* writer has decorative methods of his own, which claim a little of our attention.

One large section of the subject (the *Paraph*) is dealt with elsewhere.‡ Apart from this and, in general, the decoration of signatures, our Writers use principally four methods:

(1) *exaggeration of the tall letters* in the first line of a document, of which we have many examples§—the letters may be distinguished by excessive height, by splayed or split ends, by the addition of a pronounced hook on the right and by other extra decorative work;

(2) enlargement and decoration of *initials*;

(3) similar treatment of *headings* and in particular the use of large or small *Text Hand*, pure or modified, for this purpose;||

(4) similar treatment of *salient words or phrases*. This last is particularly common in Legal instruments, in which it persists to the present day: but it also occurs in all formal records such as the *Pipe Rolls*, *Plea Rolls* and even the sober *Chancery Rolls*:¶ moreover it develops individualities peculiar to special series.\*\*

**FIGURE AND FOLIAGE STUDY.** In the earlier part of our period decoration may not infrequently take the form of foliage or grotesques as in Fig. 58;†† and indeed such decoration may appear throughout the fifteenth century. At the end of this century, however, we pass through a period when figure-work and other more or



Fig. 58

\* For a very important volume the medieval Archive maker may call in the aid of the Limner—as for instance in the well-known ‘Great Cowchers’ belonging to the Duchy of Lancaster (*Dy. L., Miscellaneous Books*, 1 and 2)—but the practice is rare.

† as for example in Plate v (iii.) and a little in Plates I, II and III.

‡ See above, § xx.

§ See, e.g., Plates v, xxiii, xxxv.

|| See above, § xvii.

¶ Cp. Plates vii, xxiii (vi.), xxxvi (iii.) and xliv.

\*\* See above, §§ xvi (*Set Hands*) and xxii (*Numerals*).

†† from the *Chertsey Cartulary* and written by the same hand which wrote the letters in our Alphabet I.

less elaborate design, such as the annexed initial (Fig. 59) shewing the badges of York and of Richard III,\* may occasionally be written by the same hand as the body of the document to one in which it is of normal occurrence but generally the work of a special craftsman. The Tudors seem to have employed 'flourishers' or 'embellishers' for this special purpose in connection with the Public Records and the work reaches, here and elsewhere, a high level of delicacy and draftsmanship, in foliage, conventional ornament and even portraiture. This will, one hopes, be studied some day at length in such series as the *Plea Rolls*,† in original *Letters Patent*‡ (some of these were done outside the Chancery at the expense of the grantees) and in various scattered examples.§ The decoration of *Letters Patent* ends in the form of a copper-plate engraving, a fashion which lasts well into the eighteenth century.||



Fig. 59

PEN-WORK. Here we have the form of decoration which is most closely associated with Scriveners and *Court Hand* and the *Common Paper* gives us a fair idea of its development, especially in the *E* of the *Et* which is the first word of all the subscriptions. At first we have merely the enlargement, exaggeration and splaying of long limbs and so forth, the spaces thus made being filled with cross-hatching or straight lines and dots as in the annexed *A* (Fig. 60), a rather exaggerated specimen of about 1400.¶ After this the three typical features of the penman's decoration begin to develop—in combination with the exaggerated long strokes and splayed tops, which continue; that is to say a crescent-shaped stroke (appearing here about 1425) in all sizes, from a small decoration to a large stroke forming an actual part of a letter as in the *Et*\*\* here illustrated (Fig. 61); a double curve  $\smile$ , a series of which, placed side by side, will form a spiral; and interlaced

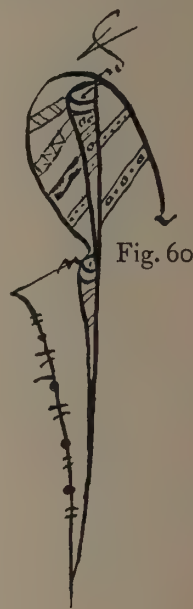


Fig. 60

\* from *King's Bench, Coram Rege Roll* (K. B. 27), 888.

† An example of one is shewn in facsimile in the catalogue of the Record Office Museum.

‡ An example is shewn in facsimile in *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, xxxvi, p. 21, with portrait of Edward VI.

§ for instance, *Exchequer, Augmentation Office, Mis-*

*cellaneous Books*, 91 (a book of Decrees and Orders temp. Henry VIII) and another beautiful example *ibid.* 211; and volumes in the *Accounts, Various*, series of the *Duchy of Lancaster*.

|| The earliest example I know is of Charles II.

¶ from the *Common Paper*, p. 56, signature of Adam de Pynkeneye.

\*\* from *Ministers' Accounts, Henry VIII*, 4570.



# DECORATION

square strap-work, formed at first by a series of thick, short strokes placed *en échelon*, examples of which appear in Plate v (1445) and in the exaggerated and splayed *J*\* shewn in Fig. 62. This form, which may be seen in a more advanced



Fig. 61



Fig. 62



Fig. 63

stage in Plate vi and in a rather coarse specimen of its final development in the rendering of *Et*† in Fig. 63, begins to grow out of a stage of poverty and roughness about the reign of Edward IV (when the upward grade of hand-writing

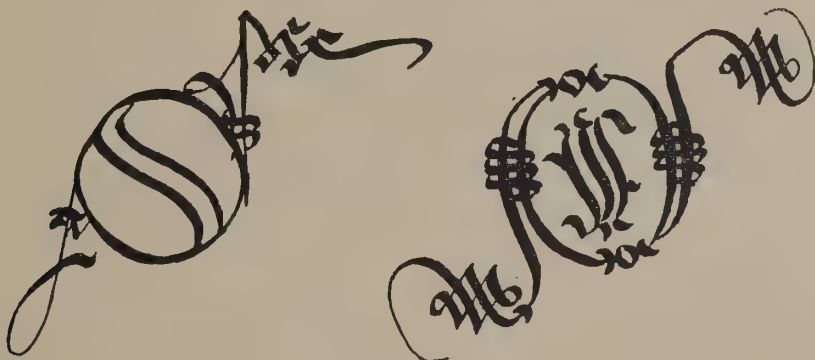


Fig. 64

in general was beginning)‡ and the lines become firm and draftsmanship good in that of Henry VIII, as may be seen in the annexed specimens§ (Fig. 64) of *S*—a favourite letter owing to its frequent occurrence in the word *Summa* in Accounts. About this time such decoration is well done by a very large number of writers of all classes: any collection of *Deeds*, for example, should produce some

\* from the *Common Paper*, p. 69, signature of John Grove.

† from the *Common Paper*, p. 96 (1515).

‡ See above, § XIX.

§ from *Ministers' Accounts*, Henry VIII, 4570.

specimens.\* The convention continues to appear for another century and more with some frequency and in occasional survivals up to a very late date;† and is the basis of a much used form of the *paraph* already described.‡ The crescent-shaped stroke, equally persistent, is perhaps the clearest if not the first manifestation of a well-known mark of decadence in writing—finger pressure on the nib.

FLOURISHES. Related to the forms we have been describing and even more clearly connected with the *paraphs* is the seventeenth century habit of *flourishing*, which came in with the Writing Master and his copper-plate illustrations. Cocker§ and others give many examples but they need not delay us long here for flourishing is not of frequent occurrence in business documents. In theory the decoration should be made with only one action, or at least with very few removals of the pen from the paper. Beginning with interlaced work like the *paraph*, it went on to the rendering of birds, animals and so forth; and continued down to the nineteenth century|| an accomplishment of the Writing Master. It was much in evidence also in France.

With *Individual Peculiarities* of Decoration we cannot hope to deal at length. Thus a fifteenth century scribe takes to ‘looking-glass’ writing for the addresses he places on seal-tags (Fig. 65):¶ writing in which letters are all of the same height and ridiculously tall in proportion to their width—thus |||||—may crop up from time to time;\*\* so may the use of capital letters in the middle of a word;†† we find the writer of the *Chertsey Cartulary*‡‡ inserting his own name in capitals: another (sixteenth century) inserts the date as appears in our illustration (Fig. 66);§§ and various classes of Records had, as we have seen,||| their own specialities in adornment.

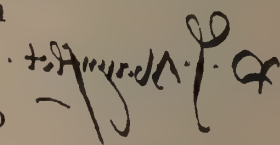


Fig. 65

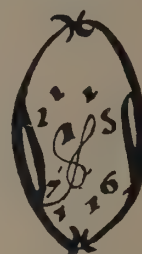


Fig. 66

\* e.g. *Ancient Deeds* in the D. series at the Public Record Office, boxes 104, 105, 106, etc.

† There are even traces of it in legal convention at the present day.

‡ Above, § xx.

§ See, e.g., his *Pen's Transcendencie*, *Pen's Triumph* and *Multum in Parvo*, where instruction is given in this abominable art. Another good example is Seddon, J., *The Pen-mans Paradise* (1695).

|| Readers of *Nicholas Nickleby* may recall the *fat swan tastefully flourished* in Nicholas' copy-book.

¶ From *Chancery, Warrants*, I, 846/3848.

\*\* An example will be found in the opening title of *Exchequer, Augmentations, Miscellaneous Books*, 91, of 1537.

†† Cp. Plate xiv (vi.) (signature).

‡‡ See the Surrey Record Society's edition, pp. vii and x.

§§ from *Exchequer, K. R., Ancient Deeds*, D. 10380.



||| Above, §§ xvi and xvii.



## XXVII

### READING, INTERPRETATION, TRANSCRIBING AND DESCRIPTION

READING. Some hints on this subject were given in *Court Hand Illustrated* but it may be well to warn the student here also against excessive optimism. In the first place it is much easier than he will, perhaps, believe to make mistakes.\* In the second place he should remember always the danger of mechanical copying: a constant, careful following of the sense and grammar is necessary; and, when these appear to go wrong, an immediate assumption that he has misread. Finally he should note that documents in English are often more difficult to copy than Latin ones; because the mind, dealing with a familiar language, jumps readily to the familiar spellings and so forth of modern usage. A warning has already† been given against over-confidence in the identification of individual hands.

Upon difficult points of detailed reading the best course, very often, if it can be taken, is to reconstruct the order of strokes in the letter or letters. To take an example, recently noted, from a late mixed *Secretary-Italic Hand*, a mark of this kind——was read alternatively as *r*, *c*, *e* and *i*, *r* and *c* both making sense of a sort: but examination with a glass shewed that the formation was this——and that the letter could be nothing but an *Italic s*. Individual letters should always be studied with an eye rather to the way in which the writer made them than to the general effect he produced: though this last is of importance when we are trying to reconstitute, from a later copy, an unknown original.

INTERPRETATION. There is little more to be said on this point, since we have already insisted on the necessity for a constant, careful following of the sense and have intimated that understanding of the significance of a document depends upon the power to put oneself in the position of the writer, whether he be a part of the machine of public administration or an independent private person. We may add that ordinary common sense is a better guide than is frequently imagined, many readers starting with the idea that a business document of any age must necessarily be a mystery; whereas it is, of necessity, in the nature either of a letter received, of a letter sent, or of a memorandum made in the course of the business—three types of document of everyday occurrence in the lives of most people.

\* In *Court Hand Illustrated* the omission of a whole line was passed over in six successive readings by the Editors. I hope that the present volume will not produce a parallel, but do not feel too sure.

† Above, § xx.

There remains always the impossibility of omniscience : the modern reader cannot always know enough to put himself in the position of the ancient scrivener. In this respect the student can only be advised to equip himself beforehand with a sound bibliographical knowledge of the authorities for the History and Antiquities of his period and region. He need not start with a personal knowledge of Briquet's *Fili-granes* or Ruding's *Coinage* or the County Histories : but he should know, well, the books which will direct him to these and like authorities. Some preliminary Bibliographical information is given in Appendix I.

TRANSCRIBING. In recent years two Reports have been published which deal with this subject. The first\* drew a practical distinction between *Transcribing*—an attempt to reproduce an old document in modern hand-writing, or in print, with the least possible departure from the original—and *Editing* ; the latter being a process in which the person responsible for the reproduction departs from the original further than is absolutely essential for intelligibility *certis de causis eum specialiter mouentibus*—from considerations of the convenience of a particular kind of student, of economy in printing, and so forth. The second Report,† accepting the Rules for *Transcription* laid down by the first, considered the *Editing* question in more detail from the point of view of modern documents and especially in relation to the problems occasioned by their enormous bulk. The student who will read this section is presumably at the stage of learning his business and need not therefore consider anything except the task of accurate *Transcription*. He will be wise and fortunate if in his subsequent work he finds it possible to evade the responsibility of departure from the original (with all the extra risk of error which such departure implies) and avails himself of that possibility.

It is not necessary to reprint here Rules which have been published in a similar form in three places:‡ but in summary we may say that the Transcriber is (a) to leave out nothing which is, and (b) to insert nothing which is not in the document. There are only two regular exceptions to these rules ; the first, of course, that the form of the lettering cannot be reproduced and the second that the Transcriber may extend abbreviations *when the extension is unquestionable*.

\* Printed in the *Bulletin* of the Institute of Historical Research, No. 1 (1923). The Rules for Transcribing were based on Rules drawn up some years previously by the present writer and printed by the Surrey Record Society ; and these are practically the same as those followed in *Court Hand Illustrated*.

† *Bulletin*, No. 7 (1925).

‡ They appear in an Appendix to my *Manual of Archive Administration* as well as in the two places mentioned, but may best be consulted in the *Bulletin*.



In view of what we have already said\* about spelling it is clear that in Latin documents abbreviations may as a rule safely be extended† except where they occur in place-names or surnames or in Latinized English words of a technical kind, such as the names of implements. On the other hand in French, English or other vernacular documents they must be treated all with the utmost caution, and especially the suspensions of final syllables. In the case of these last the abbreviation conceals the fact not only that we do not know, but also that the writer did not know, what spelling was the received one; and even when we get to a more settled period of spelling and it is tolerably certain that these flourishes on the final letter are meaningless survivals the Transcriber should insert them. The best way of indicating an unextended abbreviation is by means of an apostrophe; unless in the original it is done by superior letter (as in *Mr* or *Ma<sup>tie</sup>*), which should be copied exactly, together with any dash or dot used to help it out.

The same rule of exact copying applies to the use of capitals, spelling, punctuation, paragraph marks, brackets and all marks deliberately made in the original; and everything which cannot be copied or reproduced should be made the subject of a note. Corrections to the original draft of a document offer an obvious example.

It occasionally happens that some unreproduceable peculiarity, being of frequent occurrence, may be made the subject of a single introductory note: in such cases footnotes will be given to the text when the abnormality does *not* occur. Thus a MS. may represent (say) the word *avoir* by the spelling *auer*, or, in abbreviation, *au*‡: *auer* may be adopted by the Transcriber with a single preliminary note, occasional occurrences of *avoir* being treated to footnotes.

Coming to our second point—that the Transcriber is to add nothing except extensions. This means that he must be careful to distinguish (by italicizing, by the use of square or angular brackets,‡ and so forth) everything, even the line of dots representing an illegible passage, of which he himself is the author. The exact conventions employed do not matter, so long as they are consistent and are explained beforehand: but as a rule it is best to avoid bracketed insertions in the text—footnotes are less distracting. The illustrations to the present work have been chosen to include examples of all ordinary difficulties of rendering—*e.g.* a much corrected

\* Above, § v.

† It is a corollary to this that a Latin word mis-spelled in the original should have a footnote to shew that this is not a transcriber's or printer's error.

‡ Round brackets should be avoided because they may appear in the original.

original.\* Touching this last it is to be noted that where corrections are contemporary they will normally form the text, the words first written being given in footnotes: but in the case of a finished original altered by a later hand the practice will usually be reversed.

There remains, of course, always a proportion of writings† so extremely current that no Transcriber could do more than to hope he was rendering correctly: in such cases he should add a preliminary note.

NOTE. In the present work different conventions for rendering certain abbreviations have been used, deliberately, in different plates, so as to illustrate various methods: a note of the convention used being appended. Ordinarily, of course, the same convention would be used throughout.

DESCRIPTION. While the Transcriber is not to assume the functions of an Editor he will often find it necessary to describe some peculiarities of the document in order to make his transcription clear: a seal for instance is an integral part of a document, though it cannot be transcribed. The student will find some directions for correct description of seals, form and make-up of documents and so forth in the *Report on Editing* already cited.‡ Descriptive notes should not as a rule be mixed up with the footnotes concerning textual matters.

NOTE. In the present work the *Footnotes* are meticulous but not more so than a full transcript requires. The *Descriptive Notes* are, of course, fuller than would be the case with an ordinary transcript.

\* See Plates xxviii and xxix; for the rendering of Marks, etc., see specially the transcriptions of Plates taken from the *Common Paper*.

† Cp. Plate xxxii (ii.).

‡ *Bulletin* of the Institute of Historical Research, No. 1, p. 22. Seals are described in the notes to our Plates xxiii and xxvi. A good introduction to the literature of the subject is that by Kingsford, H. S., in S.P.C.K., *Helps for Students of History*, No. 30.

The most commonly used English work of reference is the British Museum *Catalogue of Seals...* (ed. W. de Gray Birch), 1887-1900; but see also Fowler, R. C., *Seals in the Public Record Office in Archaeologia* lxxiv, p. 103, and Greenwell, W. (ed. C. H. Hunter Blair), *Catalogue of the Seals... of the Dean and Chapter of Durham*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1911-1921.



## APPENDIX i

### BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SUMMARY

NOTE. As Authorities for the larger number of subjects to be included here have for convenience been cited in their relevant places in the preceding pages they are now mentioned only by way of cross-reference. An Alphabetical List of the Names of Authors forms part of the *Index*, where they are distinguished by < an angle bracket.

It will, of course, be understood that the Bibliographical Material provided is of a preliminary character only; no more than an Introduction to wider study of very numerous Authorities: and it is assumed that the student will find means to familiarize himself with the ordinary Bibliographies for general Antiquarian, Historical and Literary work.

The place of publication of a Book is not given save when it is *not* London.

Abbreviations: *see* pp. 41, 45.

Accounting: *see* p. 95.

Administrative History and Diplomatic: *see* pp. 18—20, 84.

Appointments: *see below*, Biography.

Archives: *see* Administrative History.

Autographs: *see* pp. 84, 85.

Bastard Hands: *see* pp. 47—50.

Biography and Family History.

Any student doing extended work upon Archives will require constantly, for purposes of identification and dating, all possible treatises giving biographical information and in particular Lists of the holders of various Appointments, Dignities and Offices. Unfortunately the habit of printing such Lists, either officially or privately, in connection with the Army, the Navy and so forth, has barely begun in our period (*i.e.* before the eighteenth century); and there is still much work to be done in the compilation of modern substitutes. Access to the following among other general authorities is essential; and the student should remember the possibilities of local publications issued by the various Archaeological and Record Societies, such as the William Salt Society's two volumes of Staffordshire *Parliamentary History* (1917—1922).

G. E. C. *The Complete Peerage*: 1887—1898 (new ed. in progress).

With this should be consulted older works, such as Dugdale's *Baronage*, Collins' *Peerage* and Nicolas' *Historic Peerage* (ed. Courthope).

Eubel, C. *Hierarchia Catholica*... (1198—1503): Münster, 1898—1910.

Firth, C. H. and others....*Lists of Ambassadors*: Oxford, 1906, etc.

Foss, E. *A Biographical Dictionary of the Judges of England*... 1066—1870: 1870.

Gams, P. P. B. *Series Episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae*...: Ratisbon, 1873.

Haydn, J. *The Book of Dignities*...: ed. Ockerby, 1894.

Lee, S. and others. *Dictionary of National Biography* (the volume of *Index and Epitome* is usually sufficient: 1906).

Le Neve, J. *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae*: ed. Hardy, 1854.

Marshall, G. W. *The Genealogist's Guide*: 1903.

Mas Latrie, Le Comte de. *Trésor de Chronologie*...: Paris, 1889.

Contains lists of Kings, Dignitaries and Officials, Calendars, etc. An alternative is

DD. Maur Dantine et Charles Clémencet. *L'Art de vérifier les Dates*...: 3rd ed., Paris, 1783—1787.

Moreri, L. *Le Grand Dictionnaire Historique*...: Paris, 1759.

(Official): *A List of the Lords High Admiral and Commissioners*... 1660—1911.

(Official: London Gazette): *The Roll of the Baronets*: 23 Feb. 1914.

(Official): *An Account of the Commissioners of Customs*... [from 1642]: 1913.

(Official): *Return of the Names of every Member... in each Parliament*...: 1878—1891.

(Public Record Office): *List of Sheriffs*... to 1831: 1898 (series of Officials may often be deduced from other Lists of Records: for example those of the *Declared*, the *Foreign* and the *Various Accounts*).

(Public Record Office): *Twenty-fifth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records*,... *List of Lords High Treasurers and Commissioners*... from the reign of Henry VII: 1864.

Shaw, W. A. *The Knights of England*...: 1906.

## Chronology.

- Bond, J. J. *Handy Book...for verifying Dates...*: 4th ed., 1889.  
[This may conveniently be used with either of the two following]:
- Cappelli, A. *Cronologia e Calendario Perpetuo...*: Milan, 1906.
- Grotefend, H. *Taschenbuch der Zeitrechnung des Deutschen Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*: Hanover and Leipzig, 1910.
- (Public Record Office): *Twenty-eighth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records: Table of Law Terms*: 1867.
- Richardson, H. G. *The Exchequer Year* (in Royal Hist. Soc. *Transactions*, 4th Ser., VIII, 1925).
- Wallis, J. E. W. *English Time Books...*: S.P.C.K., *Helps for Students of History*, No. 40.  
With these may be used any skeleton outline or Date Book: perhaps the most useful for the period covered is
- Gooch, G. P. *Annals of Politics and Culture*: 1492-1899: Cambridge, 1905.
- Ciphers: *see* p. 94.
- Civilité: *see below*, Printing.
- Court Hand: *see* pp. 3, 4, 18, 75.
- Decoration: *see* pp. 106, 108.
- Description of Documents: *see* pp. 110, 112.
- Dictionaries: *see below*, Languages.
- Dignities: *see above*, Biography.
- Diplomatic: *see above*, Administrative History; *and below*, Formularies.
- Ecclesiastical: *see above*, Administrative History *and* Biography; *and below*, Topography.
- Facsimiles: *see above*, Autographs *and* Court Hand; *and below*, Palaeography.
- Family History: *see above*, Biography.
- Formularies: *see* p. 19.
- Ink: *see below*, Writing Materials.
- Italic Writing: *see* pp. 32, 63, 64.

Languages: *see* pp. 24-26.

## Legal History.

- Pollock, Sir F. and Maitland, F. W. *The History of English Law...*: 2nd ed., Cambridge, 1911.
- Holdsworth, W. S. *A History of English Law*: new ed., 1922, etc.
- See also* Administrative History *and* Languages.

Literary Hands: *see* p. 29.

Make-up of Documents: *see* p. 112.

Marks of Merchants, etc.: *see* p. 89.

Nomenclature: *see* pp. 14, 47, 57, 59, 64, 69, 75, 76, 88.

Notaries Public: *see* p. 4.

Numerals: *see* p. 95.

Officials: *see above*, Biography.

Palaeography, General: *see* p. 7.

Paper: *see below*, Writing Materials.

Peerage: *see above*, Biography.

Penmanship: *see* pp. 11, 64.

Printing; Early: *see* p. 76.

Civilité: *see* pp. 58, 59.

Punctuation: *see* pp. 99, 100.

Scriveners: *see* pp. 4, 30.

Seals: *see* p. 112.

Signatures: *see above*, Autographs.

Stenography: *see* p. 93.

Symbols: *see* pp. 91, 92.

Teaching of Writing: *see* pp. 30, 32, 63-65, 71, 75.

Text Hands: *see* p. 76.

## Topography; General.

- Access to seventeenth or eighteenth century Maps is frequently desirable: and in any case one good Historical Atlas is necessary such as
- Poole, R. L. *Historical Atlas of Modern Europe...*: Clarendon Press, 1902 (other smaller works such as Putzger, F. W., *Historischer Schul-Atlas*, are sometimes useful).



## APPENDIX i

A good general work of reference (to be used with a modern *Gazetteer*) is

Baudrand, M. A. *Dictionnaire Géographique*,...: Paris, 1705.

For the Latin Names of Places see

Graesse, J. G. T. *Orbis Latinus*: ed. Benedict, Berlin, 1909.

### Topography; English.

Again access to earlier printed Maps is desirable for the sake of the old divisions into Hundreds, etc.; and for Ecclesiastical Divisions the Maps in (Record Commission) *Valor Ecclesiasticus*...: 1810-1834.

With these may be used the one-inch Ordnance Survey Maps and

(Official) *Index to the Population Tables*...1901.

Local Histories are too numerous to mention but the student should always see first whether the *Victoria County History* is available for any given district: and for Ecclesiastical Topography (pre-Reformation) should consult

Dugdale, W. *Monasticon Anglicanum*...: ed. Bandinel, Caley and Ellis, 1846.

A general guide to Topographical Works is

Anderson, J. P. *The Book of British Topography*: 1881.

For identification of Place Names the best help is furnished by the Indexes of existing publications of Records: in particular

(Public Record Office) *Feudal Aids*: 1899-1920; but a very important work for this purpose will presently be the publications, recently begun, of the Place-Name Society.

Trade Marks: *see above*, Marks of Merchants.

Transcription: *see* p. 110.

Water-marks: *see* p. 22.

Writing Masters; English: *see* p. 32.

Foreign: *see* p. 32.

Writing Materials: *see* pp. 21-23.

Writing, Names of: *see above*, Nomenclature.

## APPENDIX ij

### CONSPECTUS OF ARCHIVES WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE PLATES AND FIGURES IN THIS BOOK

This is intended only to provide a convenient framework into which the documents used in illustration may be fitted: not to dispense the student from study of more detailed Authorities.\* As, apart from the Plates taken from the *Common Paper* and the Alphabets from Writing Masters' Books, practically all are from the Public Records, we shall not have to refer, save incidentally, to anything but Public Administration and its Archives. But for one reason or another many documents of Local or Private origin are included among the Public Records and for convenience a separate note upon these has been placed at the end.

I have included only the more important of the documents used merely for footnotes.

**PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION: THE EXECUTIVE.** When Archives begin this is entirely in the hands of the *Chancery*, acting for and in close connection with the King. All Royal Letters go out under the Great Seal, of which the Chancellor is the custodian; and from about 1200 his department preserves record of large categories of these in the shape of copies on Rolls, in particular† the *Charter, Close, Patent* (Fig. 14 and 51), *Liberate* and *Fine Rolls*; it also preserves (from a later date) record of the proceedings of Parliament on the *Parliament Rolls* (Plate xxxvi: Fig. 43) and *Statute Rolls*; and from time to time certain special rolls are dedicated to particular classes of business or types of document—for instance the *Scottish Rolls* (Plate xxxvi). In contrast with these Records *in Rotulis* are the Chancery Files, those *in filaciis*, including all of what we should now call In-Letters—returns to writs, letters or petitions addressed to the Chancellor and Miscellaneous Documents, of every variety of provenance, which were subsidiary or preliminary to the issue of letters under the Great Seal: among these are the *Warrants*, of which we shall speak later; all kinds of *Inquisitions*; *Writs and Returns* such as those for *Members of Parliament* (Plate xxiv); cancelled *Letters Patent* (Plate xxxv); a mass of memoranda directly relating to public business, domestic or foreign; and a smaller but considerable mass of what were originally private business or family documents

\* See above, pp. 18–20.

† The older forms of Enrolment are well represented in *Court Hand Illustrated* and I have therefore gone elsewhere for illustration: but I have used all Enrolments in tracing the

which some accident of legal or other administration in the past has stranded in this position (Plates xxii, xxiv and xxv). Here also belong originally the memoranda of such *Common Law Proceedings* as took place in the Chancery (Fig. 12) and here the documents which give us the first traces (about the time our period opens) of what became ultimately the most considerable part of the Chancery's business and Archives—the *Proceedings in Equity by Bill and Answer, Deposition*, etc. (Plate xxiv: p. 22, note).

Already before our period, though the business still passes under the Great Seal, much of the initiative in Executive has gone from the Chancery to organizations, represented by smaller seals, which were less departmental, in closer touch with the Crown. These Offices, however, have not transmitted to us any Archives of the medieval period—for our knowledge of their *Warrants* under the *Privy Seal* or *Signet* we still must go to the place (generally the Chancery) where these documents are received and preserved (Plate xxiii: Fig. 4, 28, 65: pp. 24, 84, notes).

The post-medieval period is marked in the Chancery by several quite definite features. One is the growth to enormous size of the Equity procedure already mentioned, with a consequent great increase not only of the *Bills and Answers* but also of subsidiary documents and of Indexes and Entry Books (cp. Fig. 11, 34, 41 and Alphabet 14) of all kinds. High organization is indeed another of the outstanding features of the time, elaborately arranged subdivisions of the work and the staff, such as that of the *Cursitors* (Plate xxxvii) now becoming very apparent: this is of course the period of full development of the *Chancery Hand*. But most important of all is the change by which the Executive finally passes under the Tudors to the King's Secretaries: the Rolls indeed persist, for the most part, but only because in a few cases the Great Seal remains the conventional crown to an administrative proceeding (as in the case of the commissions recorded in the *Patent Roll*) or in order to record what was originally a small subsidiary part of their business, such as the registration of private deeds on the *Close Roll*.‡

developments of the *Chancery Hand*. See also p. 12, note.

‡ This was originally done on the dorse of the Roll and for some time after all other business had passed from it the face of that Record was actually left blank.



We pass to the *Secretaries of State*, who had a separate repository for their papers (we have now reached the paper period) in the State Paper Office from the late sixteenth century. With the progressive increase of their business, their Archives and their staff, and the consequent elaboration of machinery, we must not attempt to deal: only noting certain salient points. Thus, we are now in the modern period and procedure is by something like the informal letter of our own day, so that the archives will be mainly bundles of original letters received or Entry Books of letters sent out; and these, thanks to a succession of contemporary re-organizations and subsequent 'methodizations,' fall into divisions—broad ones (*Domestic, Foreign, Colonial*) and smaller ones (under countries, types of business and so on): to some extent they are also divided up by reigns. Thus our illustrations represent *State Papers* of Henry VIII (Plates xxvii and xxviii: Fig. 5, 45), *State Papers Domestic* of Elizabeth (Plate xxxi: Fig. 10, 38), Charles I (Plate xxxiv) and Commonwealth (Fig. 49); *State Papers Foreign* (letters in and out) (Plate xxxii) and the *Archives* of British Embassies abroad (Plate xxxiii). Of course the *State Papers* will include besides the letters many Miscellanea and Memoranda and an important class of these—returns of *Musters* from the Counties—has been used for one of our figures (Fig. 3).

Again, the Secretaries of State are in very close touch with the *Privy Council* whose regular Archives (the *Registers*) are also post-medieval: these have been used in Fig. 8 and 46, and the draft of a Council Letter appears in Plate xxviii.

Finally we have to note the working of the Secretaries with various special *Committees* or *Boards* set up from time to time. From this combination are descended many of our modern *Public Departments* and though these are too late for the present survey we may note in one of our illustrations (Plate xxxiv) the beginning of a famous series—the *Minutes* of the *Board of Admiralty*: and one exceptionally late example (Fig. 48) is taken from actual *Admiralty Archives*.

**PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION: FINANCIAL.** Here the tale is much the same; an elaborate machinery per-

fecting very early (much earlier,\* indeed, than that of the Chancery) which has already proved, before our period begins, insufficient for the needs of public business enormously increased in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries and constantly growing. This original organization—the *Recepta* where money is received and paid and the *Scaccarium* where accounts are audited—was still in existence in our period (and indeed persisted down to the nineteenth century) but a series of efforts were made to relieve the strain upon it. First the *Scaccarium* was divided into two departments, those of the *King's Remembrancer* and the *Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer*, dealing with preliminary and final audit respectively; and then in succession all kinds of new arrangements, large and small, such as the machinery represented by the separate *Enrolled Accounts* were set beside (they did not supersede) the old. Incidentally (a close parallel to the case of the Chancery and the Privy Seal Office) we find the Crown from time to time in more immediate control of Receipt and Expenditure through the machinery of the *Wardrobe*; though this remains so far, in name, a subsidiary department that its *Accounts* have reached us only as a part of those of the Exchequer where they were audited (cp. Plate xxvi). At this point we may note that in the case of the Exchequer the result of continual adaptation and expansion is to produce a complication of machinery which, though it may have been intelligible to the people who worked it and who wrote the Archives, is extraordinarily difficult to us and makes some classes of the Records† very dangerous to use without precaution: and that this difficulty is increased by their enormous bulk and the very small amount that has been published. The culmination to centuries of adaptation and modification is the big revolution, again under the Tudors, by which the larger part of Public Accounting comes under the new system of *Declared Accounts*‡ (Fig. 57); which is attached only nominally to the old machinery.

Our illustrations from the older forms of financial Record include the *Pipe Roll*§ and *Enrolled Accounts* (Plate xxxviii: Fig. 16, 17, 36: pp. 15 and 92, notes) and a late supplement to these, the *Recusant*

to the Roll of 1295 published by the Surrey Record Society.

‡ These though figuring very little in our illustrations have been used a great deal in research, especially for § xxii on NUMERALS.

§ These have been used also considerably for tracing the development of the *Special K.R.*, *L.T.R.* and *Pipe Office Hands*.

\* *Pipe* and *Receipt Rolls* date from the twelfth century.

† For instance the *Receipt and Issue Rolls* of the *Recepta* (Fig. 53): a fifteenth century specimen of these in *Court Hand Illustrated* is a good example both of the Roll and of its complication. For the complication of the *Pipe Roll* in the late thirteenth century see the Introduction by Miss M. H. Mills



*Roll*\* (Alphabet 16); the typical Archives of both Remembrancers, the *Memoranda Rolls*† (Plate xxxix: Fig. 15: Alphabet 15, etc.) besides the indexes (*Repertories*) to these (Plates xxxix and xl) which their bulk rendered necessary from quite an early date; and the large and varied class of original *Accounts and Vouchers* remaining in the Office of the King's Remembrancer (Plate xxvi: Fig. 6, 32: Alphabets 3, 7) and elsewhere (Fig. 13).

Other post-medieval changes are found in the erection of new departments (the *Augmentation, First Fruits* and *Land Revenue* Offices) which, at first independent, are ultimately annexed to the Exchequer. The Court of Augmentations accumulated all the Archives directly connected with the Dissolution (e.g. *Deeds of Surrender*: cp. Alphabet 4). Our Fig. 22 is from a book of *Decrees* of the Court; and Fig. 31 from one of the Miscellaneous Books of the same office: while Plate xxix and Fig. 7 are from *Enrolments* of the Land Revenue Office. The later period is fruitful, here also, in new series of Entry Books, Indexes and Registers: a *Patent Book* of the Exchequer of Receipt is used in Plate xxxi and a Register of Monastic Pensions for Plate xxx (see also Fig. 2, 4, 50, 56). But Miscellaneous Books of various kinds had always accumulated at the Exchequer because it represented the Treasury, the earliest repository of Records: some trace of this survives in classes of documents which have never been assigned to any particular department of the Exchequer and are known as belonging to the (*Exchequer*) *Treasury of the Receipt* (cp. Plate xxii: Alphabet 3: Fig. 33, 54).

The final development—but it is really beyond our survey—was that which by putting the office of Treasurer into Commission produced the *Treasury*: this Board continued until the nineteenth century to function to some extent through the old Exchequer machinery.

**PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION: LEGAL.** The central Courts for the King's Justice have been settled long before our period begins—the original single *Curia Regis* dividing into two, the *Court of Common Pleas*

and the *Court of King's Bench* which takes first the Pleas of the Crown but presently has a Plea Side, taking Civil Pleas, also. In addition there is a Common Law Court in the *Exchequer* and a limited Common Law Jurisdiction (but this we have already noticed) in the *Chancery*. These are the permanent Courts‡ and their Records (save at the Chancery) are *Plea Rolls*, examples of which will be found in *Court Hand Illustrated* and to a small extent here (Plate xlii: Fig. 52, 53, 59). In addition they have, like other Administrations, their Miscellanea and Subsidiary Records—large quantities of *Writs and Returns*, for example, were accumulated and some of these have survived (cp. the *King's Bench Writs* in Plate xli) and the *Feet of Fines* of the Court of Common Pleas (the *Foot of Fine* was part of a triplicate indenture for the making over of land between private parties) form a class so old§ and so vast that 'subsidiary' is almost a misnomer (Plate xliii: Fig. 18). Like other Administrations, also, the Courts of Law are, by the post-medieval period, very vast and confused in the matter of Records, difficult of interpretation (save on the surface) and consequently multiplying 'Controlments' (Plate xliii), Dockets (Fig. 44) and so forth.

Save for a signature (Fig. 25) I have not used in illustration the two important new Courts of Tudor creation—the *Star Chamber* and the *Court of Requests*—and we may pass them by with a mention. The same applies to the group of medieval 'Visitation Jurisdictions'—the Courts of Justices in Eyre and so forth—and the Local Courts:¶ we may merely note for completeness the re-organization of the 'Assizes' in the time of Henry VIII and the fact that between the fifteenth century (when their rolls ceased gradually to be deposited at Westminster) and the seventeenth century (when the modern 'Assizes' class begins) there is a big gap in their Records. Of Proceedings in Equity in the Chancery we have already spoken.

**SPECIAL COLLECTIONS.** These do not represent anything Administrative but are the result of an early policy, now disapproved, of grouping together docu-

(speaking roughly) reproduce the Royal forms and it happens that they have not been used in actual illustration here (see however above, pp. 68 and 25, 105, 106, *notes*). Examples of their Records will be found in *Court Hand Illustrated*.

§ It extends from the twelfth century to the nineteenth.

¶ See however notes based on Records of *Coroners' Courts* and *Admiralty Prize Courts*, pp. 21, 87.

\* Sixteenth and seventeenth century Records dealing with the penalties for refusal to conform to the established Church.

† These have been used also considerably for tracing the development of the *Special K.R.*, *L.T.R.* and *Pipe Office Hands*.

‡ I have not mentioned the Rolls of the *Palatinate Courts* or other Palatinate Records although post-medievally these came all into the hands of the Crown: because the Palatinates



ments of a similar kind regardless of their provenance. Two such classes are represented here—the *Ministers' Accounts* (Fig. 24, 55, 61, 64) and *Ancient Correspondence* (Plate xxvii: Fig. 29, 37).

**LOCAL AND PRIVATE ARCHIVES.** The subject of *Ecclesiastical* and *Local Archives*, since they have not really been laid under contribution, is too vast to be dealt with here. Two exceptions (the *Parish Register*\* used for Fig. 42 and the *Cartulary* of Fig. 58 and Alphabet 1) may serve to remind us that the sixteenth century was as fruitful of new forms of Administration and new Archives locally as it was centrally; and that one of the effects of the Reformation was to change the face of Archive making and Archive keeping within the Church, because its supreme head and ultimate place of appeal was no longer the Court of Rome: we have already mentioned two new Archive-making Departments† which resulted from this.

It must not be forgotten, however, that many of the documents in such a class (*e.g.*) as the *Exchequer, K.R., Accounts* will include large masses of documents of local provenance: our only examples here are a printed form sent down from London (Fig. 6 and Alphabet 7) and some marks of illiterate people

(Fig. 31, 32): but see also notes on pp. 12, 21, 25, 45, 65, 91.

*Private Muniments* which have survived from the medieval period are almost entirely concerned with land-tenure and three of the four‡ main classes of these are represented here—*Deeds* (Fig. 20 and 66: Alphabet 4: p. 108 *n.*), *Ministers' Accounts* (Fig. 24, 55, 61, 64) and *Rentals* (Plate xxix: this example is however in connection with land held by the Crown). In the late fifteenth century begins the widening of Family Collections, Miscellaneous *Law Papers* (Plates xlii, xliii), *Household Accounts* (Plate xxiv) and *Private Letters* (Plate xxvii) becoming gradually common; together with Memoranda and Miscellanea of all kinds, such as the rough receipts and accounts and the curious little Chronicle in Plates xxii and xxv. From this period date also the first surviving private *Accounts and other Archives of Merchants* or Trading Companies of any considerable magnitude (Plate xxv: Fig. 29, 40):§ the raising of such documents into modern form and usage does not come till the next century and *Ledger, Journal* and so forth were perhaps not common till the seventeenth, from which our examples (Plate xxxiii) have been taken.

\* The keeping of Parish Registers was started by an ordinance of Cromwell in 1538.

† The *Courts of Augmentations* and of *First Fruits*. The greatest change came, of course, to those parts of the Church's activities which had been concerned with temporalities. Cp. notes on pp. 40, 69, 74, etc.

‡ The fourth is that of *Court Rolls*—the Records of seignorial jurisdiction in Manors, etc.

§ *Stray Bills* and other Memoranda of persons trading in a private capacity may of course occur not infrequently as Vouchers to Public Accounts (cp. Plate xxvi).

# APPENDIX ij

## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF PLATES SHEWING THE LANGUAGE USED IN EACH

NOTE. For the proportions of the Languages represented see above, p. 28. Touching the dates it should be observed that those of the Common Paper occasionally represent the date of admission and not necessarily that of actual writing: cp. Plates XIII, XVII, XVIII.

Date	Plate Number	Language	Date	Plate Number	Language
1362	xxxv (i.)	Latin	1509	xxxvi (ii.)	Latin
1377	xxxv (ii.), (iii.)	Latin	1511	xli (viii.)	Latin
1379	xxiii (i.)	French	1516	xxxviii (iii.)	Latin
c. 1390	i	Latin	1527	xii (i.), (ii.)	Latin
1396	xli (i.)	Latin	1529	xii (iii.)	Latin
1397	xxiii (ii.)	French	1533	xl (i.)	Latin
1398	xxxv (iv.)	Latin	1534	xxxvi (iii.)	{ Latin
c. 1400	ii	Latin	1535	xxvii (i.)	{ English
1402	xli (ii.)	Latin	1535	xxvii (iii.) to (viii.)	{ English
1405	xxiii (iii.)	French	c. 1535	xlvi (iii.)	{ English
1412	xxxv (v.)	Latin	1539	xxix (part)	Latin
c. 1417	iii	Latin	1545	xxviii	English
1423	xxiii (iv.)	French	1547	xiii (iii.)	Latin
1426	xxxviii (i.)	Latin	c. 1549	xxix (part)	Latin
1429	xxxv (vii.)	Latin	1553	xiii (i.), (ii.)	Latin
1432/3	xxiv (i.)	Latin and English mixed	1553	xiv (i.) to (iv.)	Latin
1437	iv (i.)	Latin	1554	xiv (v.), (vi.)	Latin
1440	iv (ii.), (iii.), (iv.)	Latin	1556	xxx	Latin
c. 1440	xxii (i.)	{ Latin	1557	x (part)	Latin
c. 1440	xxiv (ii.)	{ English	1559	xv	Latin
1445	v (i.)	Latin	1566	xvi (i.), (ii.), (iii.)	Latin
1447	v (ii.), (iii.)	Latin	1566	xl (ii.)	Latin
1453	xxiv (iii.), (iv.)	Latin	1567	xvi (iv.), (v.)	Latin
c. 1455	xxii (ii.)	English	1567	xxxix (i.)	Latin
1457	xli (iii.)	Latin	1569	xxxviii (iv.)	Latin
1457	xli (iv.)	Latin	1573	xvii (iii.)	Latin
1458	xxiii (v.)	English	1574	xxix (part)	Latin
1461	xxxv (vi.)	Latin	1575	xvii (iv.)	Latin
1465	vi (i.)	Latin	1577	xvii (i.), (ii.)	Latin
1466	xli (v.)	Latin	1583	xliv (ii.)	Latin
c. 1466	xlvi	English	c. 1585	xviii	Latin
1467	vi (ii.), (iii.), (iv.)	Latin	1586	xxxii (iii.)	English
1473	xxv (ii.)	English	1588	xxxii (i.)	English
1474	vii (i.), (ii.)	Latin	1589	xxxii (ii.)	English
1475	xxv (iii.)	English	1589	xix	English
1475	vii (iii.), (iv.)	Latin	1591	xx	Latin
1476	xxiii (vi.)	Latin	1591	xxxvii (i.)	English
1479	xxxix (ii.)	Latin	1591	xxxvii (i.)	Latin
1481	viii	Latin	1593	xxxi (ii.)	Latin
1484	xxxvi (i.)	Latin	1597	xxxvii (ii.)	English
1484	xli (vi.)	Latin	1597	xxxvii (ii.)	Latin
c. 1487	xxv (i.)	English	1598	xxxi (i.)	English
1489	xxxviii (ii.)	Latin	1600	xxxiii (i.)	English
1492	ix (i.)	Latin	1602	xliv (i.)	Latin
1493	ix (ii.), (iii.)	Latin	1611	xxxvii (iii.)	English
1493	xlvi (i.)	Latin	1611	xxxvii (iii.)	Latin
1497	xli (vii.)	Latin	1619	xxxiii (ii.)	English
✓ 1497	x (part)	English	1624	xxxviii (v.)	English
✓ 1503	xxvi (i.)	English	1627	xxi (i.), (ii.), (iii.)	Latin
✓ 1503	xxvi (ii.)	English	1628	xxi (iv.), (v.)	Latin
✓ 1503	xxvi (iii.)	Latin	1628	xxxiv	English
✓ 1505	xi	Latin	1637	xxxvii (iv.)	Latin
✓ 1506	xxxvii (ii.)	English	1641	xxxvii (v.)	English
✓ 1509	xlvi (ii.)	Latin	1641	xxxvii (v.)	Latin



## PART II

## TRANSCRIPTS AND NOTES ON PLATES

### NOTE

The ordinary rules for transcribing have been followed here as set out above\*: but for the capital *ſ*, standing for *I* or *ſ*, *I* has been used throughout.

It should be emphasized that in certain instances it can be only a matter of opinion whether the scribe intended a letter to be a capital or not: and that the same remark sometimes applies to the question whether apparent punctuation is or is not accidental.

Abbreviations have been extended (following the rules) only where the extension was certain: but in the case of English words in *-tion* abbreviated in the Latin manner *-coñ* the extension *-cion* has been adopted. On the other hand *li*, *s*, and *d* have in some cases been printed for *li* *ſ* *đ*, the use being duly noted. Similarly *etċ* has been sometimes extended, sometimes left abbreviated; and in one or two other cases, all noted, special renderings have been adopted, in order to shew various possible methods.

Save in one or two cases the lines have been run on, the number of each line, as shewn on the Plate, being given in <angular> brackets.

In the case of the *Common Paper* (Plates I to XXI) it has not been necessary to be quite so full as elsewhere in description. The question of the material for example need not be restated each time nor the facts that the *mortuus* (with sometimes an added tick *✓*) in the margin and the occasional headings are probably by the hand of the Clerk of the Company for the time being and that the page numeration in the centre and on the right at the head is purely modern.

\* See § XXVII.



# PLATE I

## COMMON PAPER, p. 53

**HANDS.** Both medium to small *Bastard*. Current, with a fair number of ties between letters. Here and throughout the *Common Paper* the word *Mortuus* is added by a succession (presumably) of the Company's Clerks.

**LETTER FORMS.** Nothing specially remarkable, but note the dotted (or stroked) *i*, slight tendency to right-hand slope in long letters and presence of pen-pressure in tails of *f*, *j*, *p* etc., particularly in (ii.). Head of *t* beginning to rise above cross.

**ABBREVIATIONS.** Normal. Note current forms of *pro* and *per* in (i.) lines 6 and 9; and ordinary abbreviation marks made currently with turn-up of final letter in (e.g.) *Iuramentum* in (ii.) line 10.

**PUNCTUATION.** Very little. (ii.) uses virgula and slight end flourish.

**DECORATION.** *E* rather in Illuminators' style in (ii.) and note splayed *ſ* in signature of (i.). Two **NOTARY'S MARKS**, one shewing initial of Notary and one his full name. Note **BRACKETS** to signatures.

**SPECIAL NOTES.** These are the first entries by Members of the Company. Seman and Cossier were sworn as Masters for the ensuing year on May 17, 15 Richard II (1392): see *Guildhall Letter Books*, H., f. 267.

### TRANSCRIPT

1390 anno 14 Ricardi 2\* (53)†

{Iohannes Cossier Notarius papalis et Imperialis⊕}	{           <1> Ego vero Iohannes Cossier Ciuis et Scriptor litere Curialis london' <2> cupiens corditer quascumque decepciones defectus atque scandala in <3> Arte qua vtor coniectanda seu proponenda et que coniectari seu pro- poni <4> poterint quomodolibet‡ in futuro toto meo conamine euadere et adnullare <5> certa mea sciencia et spontanea voluntate quascumque ordinationes <6> contentas in prescripto Iuramento per Magistros et probos homines eiusdem <7> Artis tam pro complemento Iusticie quam pro communi vtilitate ordinatas <8> obseruare et inuiolabiliter adimplere tactis sacris dei euaungelijs corpora <9> le prestiti Iuramentum/Conscenciens§ insuper ad omnes   alias no <10> uas ordinationes per eosdem Magistros et probos homines in antea editas <11> et ordinatas manu mea propria hic me subscribens in fidem et tes <12> timonium premissorum         }	} Mortuus†
--	--	------------

{Martinus Seman Notarius papalis et Imperialis⊕}	{           <1> Et ego Martinus Seman Ciuis et Scriptor litere Curialis <2> lon- don' sciens euidenter et cognoscens predictum Iuramentum de nouo <3> editum et confectum per Magistros et probos homines artis nostre memorate/Ac <4> per dictum Magistrum Iohannem Cossier vt premittitur prestitum siue factum profi <5> tabile esse et rationabile/Ac nonnullis de causis pro communi vtilitate et <6> complemento Iusticie ordinatum fuisse/cupiens** que** corditer et effectualiter <7> quascumque decepciones siue falcitates§ defectus atque scandala in arte predicta <8> qua vtor coniectanda seu proponenda et que coniectari vel proponi poterint <9> quo- modolibet in futuro toto posse meo euadere et adnichilare mea certa <10> sciencia et bona voluntate huiusmodi Iuramentum ad sancta dei Euaungelia <11> per me ipsum corporaliter tacta Iuraui/Consenciens pariter ad omnes alias <12> nouas ordinationes antescriptas per eosdem Magistros et probos homines in <13> antea editas et ordinatas manu mea propria hic me subscribens in fidem <14> et testimonium premissorum ~         }	} Mortuus†
--	---	------------

\* These words added in a later hand (? seventeenth century).

† See Introductory Note, p. 122. The modern pagination will be omitted in subsequent Transcripts.

‡ MS. has qum instead of quom.

§ Sic MS.

|| MS. omnes.

⊕ Above this marginal is the writer's Notarial Mark.

\*\* Written separately in MS.

## PLATE II

### COMMON PAPER, p. 61 (part)

**HANDS.** (i.) A small *Bastard Hand*. Considerable pen-pressure and the use of hair-strokes may be noted: also a little extra angularity in the junction of short vertical strokes with diagonals.

(ii.) The *Bastard*, written very small, merging into a typical fifteenth-century *Set Hand*. Irregular slope of long strokes to the right.

(iii.) A similar hand but larger and with long strokes vertical or backward-sloping, short strokes definitely sloped back.

**LETTER FORMS.** Nothing very remarkable: note the stroked *i* in all three writings and angular *p* (*spontaneo*

(ii.), l. 3). Contrast the long *r* of (i.) and (iii.) with the short one of (ii.) (*industria, discretorum*, etc., line 2). The *T* in (iii.) (*Tanner*, line 1) is unusual and suggests the later *Pipe Office* form.

**ABBREVIATIONS.** The rounded form of superior mark appears, being run on from the final letter in (ii.) and (iii.).

**PUNCTUATION.** Very slight. Final flourish in (i.) and (ii.).

**DECORATION** of initials still of the splayed type. The *E* in (ii.) suggests Illuminator's style.

### TRANSCRIPT

Thomas Guy*	<p>&lt;1&gt; Et ego Thomas Guy Ciuis et Scriptor litere curialis Ciuitatis sepedicte/ Volens ea perficere et implere &lt;2&gt; que per Magistros meos et fidedignos artis mee memorate fuerunt et sunt ordinata et precipue bene sciens predictum &lt;3&gt; iuramentum ex maxima fidelitate tam pro scandalis et decepcionibus opprobrijs et falcitatibus† in arte predicta penitus &lt;4&gt; euitandis quam pro predictae artis proficuo et honore ac tocius populi vtilitate principali necessarie ordinatum esse/tactis &lt;5&gt; dei sacrosanctis predictum Iuramentum prestiti corporale mea spontanea voluntate non vi nec metu coactus; Vteriusque &lt;6&gt; consenciens et promittens omnes alias ordinaciones de nouo ordinatas iuste et fideliter obseruare hic me manu propria &lt;7&gt; scripsi pro maiori robore in fidem premissorum :: ~</p>	Mortuus
Iohannes Bydeford' Notarius papalis et Imperialis‡	<p>&lt;1&gt; Et ego Iohannes Bydeford' Ciuis et Scriptor Litere Curialis Ciuitatis predictae sciens manifeste &lt;2&gt; prescriptum Iuramentum pro comuni† vtilitate/necnon ex magna industria discretorum artis predictae fore &lt;3&gt; prouisum illud tenere et fideliter seruare prout decet ex assensu spontaneo tactis sacrosanctis eloquijs &lt;4&gt; corporale prestiti Iuramentum Consenciens insuper ad omnes ceteros articulos tam infrascriptos quam &lt;5&gt; imposterum licite constituendos/Hec manu mea propria scripsi nomen que† meum cognitum eisdem apposui &lt;6&gt; in fidem ac firmiorem certitudinem premissorum/.</p>	Mortuus
Iohannes Tanner§	<p>&lt;1&gt; Et ego Iohannes Tanner Ciuis et Scriptor litere Curialis Ciuitatis predictae licet indignus &lt;2&gt; sciencia   que   et ffacultate ista minimus. Volens tamen omnia et singula que in predictae artis mee &lt;3&gt; emolumentum ordinantur et perposterum† licite constituentur liberis et executiuis gaudere &lt;4&gt; propositis, antedictum Iuramentum quod pro communi vtilitate ex magna   que   industria artis⊕ discretorum &lt;5&gt; artis memorate sencio perducendum. Sacrosanctis tactis eloquijs mea propria voluntate inductus &lt;6&gt; corporaliter hic iuravi; nomenque** meum cognitum pro firmitate certitudine premissorum manu mea &lt;7&gt; propria ~†† nunc inscripsi hanc meam scripcionem legentis constanciam corditer deprecando &lt;8&gt; vt mea discere volentis ignorancia. inter‡‡ tot et tantos eruditos probiter excusetur ~</p>	Mortuus

\* Signature underlined in MS.

† Sic MS.

‡ Above this marginal is the writer's Notarial Mark.

§ A line below and above this signature in MS.

|| Written separately in MS.

⊕ Struck through in MS.

\*\* que inserted above line with caret.

†† Flourish over an erasure.

‡‡ From this point to end apparently written over an erasure.



# PLATE III

## COMMON PAPER, p. 64 (part)

**HANDS.** (i.) Rough and current rendering of a medium-size *Bastard Hand*: slight tendency to right-hand slope in long strokes. Signature more formal.

(ii.) Similar, but not so rough: no right-hand slope of long strokes, but backward tendency of short ones.

(iii.) Small angular *Bastard Hand*.

(iv.) Formal medium-size *Bastard Hand*. Artificial angles, pen-pressure and other characteristics well marked: and in the words *Notarius Imperialis* under the mark a left and right twist of short minims suggesting *Text*.

**LETTER FORMS.** Two forms of *e* in (i.) (*antedicte*, line 1) and (iii.) (*manifeste*, line 1). Letter *i* generally, but not always, dotted or stroked: also *y* in the surname in (ii.). Observe use of short *r* throughout but in (i.) the current long one is used also and preponderates (line 1 *Scriptor*). The short *r* is turning to the current *o* form

in (iii.) (*Curialis*, line 1) and (iv.) (*iuramentum*, but contrast *pro*, line 3). Note varying forms of final *s* in (iv.) (*Ciuis* and *senciens*, line 1; *nouas*, line 4): contrast with the same letter in (i.), where it is made like a current *c*.

**ABBREVIATIONS.** Ordinary typical. Very little **PUNCTUATION** (virgula and full stop) but note final flourish in (ii.).

**LANGUAGE.** Note *vtelitate* in (i.).

**DECORATION.** Rather in illuminator's style in (i.) (ii.) and (iv.). Good specimen of **NOTARY'S MARK**.

**SPECIAL NOTE.** A parchment guard has been added to this sheet in rebinding and the word *mortuus* opposite each entry being written partly over and partly under this (as appears on close examination of the original) gives us a date.

### TRANSCRIPT

Henricus Northfolk' }	<1> Et ego Henricus North'folk' Ciuis et Scriptor litere Curialis Ciuitatis antedicte videns <2> manifeste et cognoscens predictum iuramentum pro Comuni vtelitate* populi atque magna fidelitate <3> confectum ipsum tenere et obseruare mea propria ac bona voluntate huiusmodi iuramentum sacrosanctis <4> corporaliter tactis iurauī Consenciens†/similiter ad omnes alias nouas ordinaciones antescriptas manu <5> mea propria hic me scripsi in fidem et testimonium premissorum/	Mortuus
--------------------------	---	---------

Stephanus ffrankeleyn }	<1> Et‡ ego Stephanus ffrankeleyn iam Ciuis et Scriptor litere Curialis. Ciuitatis antedicte senciens <2> omnia premissa vt premittitur necessaria fore et oportuna manu mea propria scripsi in fidem <3> et testimonium omnium premissorum~	Mortuus
----------------------------	--	---------

¶ Robertus Clerk' }	<1> Et ego Robertus Clerk' Ciuis et Scriptor litere Curialis Ciuitatis london' Sciens manifeste prescriptum Iuramentum <2> pro comuni* vtilitate atque magna fidelitate confectum illud tenere et obseruare mea propria. ac bona voluntate huiusmodi <3> Iuramentum Sacrosanctis corporaliter tactis Iurauī/Consenciens insuper per posse meum ad omnes alias nouas ordinaciones. <4> prescriptas manu mea propria hic Scripsi in fidem et testimonium premissorum.	Mortuus
------------------------	---	---------

Iohannes Chesham Notarius Imperialis § }	<1> Et ego Iohannes Chesham Ciuis et Scriptor litere Curialis Ciuitatis london' senciens <2> prescriptum iuramentum pro comuni* vtilitate et pro magna fidelitate ordinatum <3> illud pro meo posse tenere sponte huiusmodi iuramentum sacrosanctis corporaliter tactis <4> iurauī/Consenciens itaque ad omnes alias nouas ordinaciones prescriptas manu mea <5> propria hic scripsi. scilicet. xiiij <sup>mo</sup> . die Iunij Anno regni Regis Henrici quinti gratiosi <6> post conquestum quinto. in testimonium premissorum. Ig	Mortuus
---	---	---------

\* Sic MS.

† Last part of this word written in over erasure.

‡ A pen flourish, apparently meaningless, above the first line of this entry.

§ Above this marginal is the writer's Notarial Mark.

|| The writer has perhaps begun to write the word Igitur.

# PLATE IV

COMMON PAPER, p. 70 (part)

**HANDS.** (i.) Rough and poor *Bastard Hand*: letters (long and short) leaning at all kinds of angles and of varying sizes.

(ii.) Similar but not quite so free or irregular. Right-hand slope of long strokes and backward slope of short ones. These characteristics are much intensified in

(iii.) a typical mid-fifteenth-century *Set Hand*, very ugly and untidy, with both slopes pronounced and no attempt at regularity.

(iv.) As (i.) but more advanced.

**LETTER FORMS.** Contrast the *e* (three forms) used in *tenere* in the different hands: also the *g* in *magna* (line 2 in each case): note that the most current hand, (iii.), has the two-stroke *e*. The other current forms in

(iii.) should all be studied carefully, especially *a, N, r, p* (e.g. *Scripti*, line 4) and *x*. Also this scribe's method of getting the tapering long stroke in his *s* (several examples in line 3).

**ABBREVIATIONS.** No new forms but note the highly current ones in (iii.). Note **LIGATURE** of initial *Et* in (ii.).

**PUNCTUATION.** Again very slight. Note the final flourish in (i.) and (iii.) and the virgula used as full stop in (iv.).

**DECORATION.** (i.), (ii.) and (iv.) have under-lines to signatures, with **PARAPH**.

**SPECIAL NOTES.** Old parchment guard to this sheet with modern gauze repairing overlaid.

## TRANSCRIPT

Andreas Ioye*	<1> Et ego Andreas Ioye Ciuis et Scriptor litere Ciuitatis London' Senciens infrascriptum Iuramentum pro communi <2> Vtilitate et pro magna fidelitate ordinatum. illud per posse meum tenere sponte huiusmodi iuramentum sacrosanctis <3> Euaungelijs per me corporaliter tactis iurauī. Consenciens Insuper ad omnes alias nouas ordinaciones prenotatas <4> modo ordinatas et imposterum ordinandas manu mea propria hic me scripsi decimo octauo die Nouembris <5> Anno regni Regis Henrici sexti post conquestum Sextodecimo ∞
mortuus	
Thomas ffroddesham*	<1> Et ego Thomas ffroddesham Ciuis et Scriptor littere Curialis Ciuitatis london' vtinam dignus percipiens antedictum <2> Iuramentum pro communi vtilitate artis sepedicte et pro magna fidelitate fore institutum; illud idem tenere et obseruare per posse meum <3> sponte et non coactus tactis sacrosanctis corporale prestiti iuramentum Consenciens insuper ad omnes alias nouas <4> ordinaciones quantum in me est obseruare manu mea propria momen† meum in capite exarauī primo die Marcij Anno <5> regni Regis Henrici sexti post conquestum Anglie decimo octauo.
Mortuus	
Iohannes Ecton* }	<1> Et ego Iohannes Ecton' Ciuis et Scriptor Littere Curialis‡ Ciuitatis London' Senciens Iuramentum infrascriptum <2> pro magna vtilitate ac pro magna fidelitate artis predicte fore institum† illud idem tenere et obseruare per posse <3> meum/sacramentum sacrosanctis Euaungelijs per me corporaliter tactis iurauī/Consenciens insuper ad omnes alias nouas <4> ordinaciones quantum in me est obseruare manu mea propria hic Scripsi vicesimo Nono die mensis februarij <5> Anno regni Regis Henrici sexti post Conquestum Decimo Octauo 1
Mortuus	
Willelmus Styfford'*	<1> Et ego Willelmus Styfford' Ciuis et Scriptor Litere Curialis Ciuitatis london' Senciens Iuramentum <2> predictum pro magna vtilitate ac pro magna fidelitate artis predicte fore institutum/illud idem tenere et obseruare <3> per posse meum sacrosanctis Euaungelijs per me corporaliter tactis Iurauī/Consenciens insuper ad omnes alias <4> nouas ordinaciones quantum in me est obseruare manu mea propria. hic scripsi. vicesimo die mensis <5> Aprilis Anno regni Regis Henrici Sexti post conquestum Decimo Octauo/
mortuus	<6> Mortuus

\* Under-line with paraps to this signature.

† Sic MS.

‡ Inserted above line with caret.



# PLATE V

## COMMON PAPER, p. 72 (part)

**HANDS.** (i.) Poor, but not careless, fifteenth-century rendering of a *Bastard Hand*, medium size. Irregular right-hand slope to long strokes, some (but not all) of which shew also exaggerated length and pen-pressure. Individual letters all carefully made.

(ii.) Very typical fifteenth-century *Set Hand* of the better class with pronounced and comparatively regular backward slope; no exaggerated long strokes (they are, in fact, on the short side), but strong tendency to tapering and marked contrast between thick and thin strokes. Signature practically *Text Hand*.

(iii.) Small neat *Bastard Hand*. *Text* signature.

**LETTER FORMS.** (i.) Forms as previously noticed: but observe again forms of *e*, *p*, *r*, *s* (final) and *x*: short *a* used here and in (ii.).

(ii.) Style is here more important than letter form but note the *a*; *g* (very typical, with weak tail-piece);

*q* and *p* (lower part weak and sloping to left); *r* with foot; *r* (2 form) with added tail, revival of an earlier characteristic which is seen also in (iii.) and later; long *f* with the notched top typical of this letter in *Bastard* type; simplified *M*; current *x* etc.

(iii.) Forms usual, but interesting. Uses long as well as short *r* (*nostri Henrici*, line 7).

**ABBREVIATIONS and PUNCTUATION**, as in previous Plates.

**LANGUAGE.** Note bad Latin in (i.) *consenciens...ad...ordinaciones...obseruare*.

**DECORATION.** Illuminator's style in (i.) and (iii.) but note in (ii.) appearance of the typical crescent strokes and interlaced work. **PARAPHS** as before—a good specimen in (iii.). Exaggerated tall strokes in (i.) and (ii.).

## TRANSCRIPT

Robertus Spayne.\*  
*Mortuus* <1> Et ego Robertus Spayne Ciuis et Scriptor litere Curialis Ciuitatis London'.  
 Vtinam <2> dignus percipiens Iuramentum prescriptum pro communi Vtilitate  
 artis sepedicte et pro magna fidelitate <3> fore institutum. illud idem tenere  
 custodire et obseruare per posse meum sponte et non coactus tactis† <4> sacro-  
 sanctis dei euaungelijs iuramentum prestiti corporale. Consenciens insuper  
 ad omnes alias nouas. <5> ordinaciones quantum in me est obseruare manu mea  
 propria nomen meum in capite exarau decimo <6> septimo die mensis Iulij  
 Anno regni Regis Henrici Sexti post conquestum Vicesimo Tercio ∞

Ricardus Pumfrey‡  
*Mortuus* <1> Et ego Ricardus Pumfrey Ciuis et Scriptor litere Curialis Ciuitatis  
 <2> sepedicte videns circumspecte et cognoscens antescriptum Iuramentum  
 <3> pro intima veritate atque populi communi vtilitate confectum ipsum  
 tenere <4> obseruare et affirmare mea propria ac bona voluntate huiusmodi  
 iuramentum <5> sacrosanctis corporaliter tactis iurau Consenciens pariter et  
 concedens ad <6> omnes alias nouas ordinaciones prerecitas manu mea propria  
 hic scripsi <7> primo die Mensis Marcij Anno regni Regis Henrici Sexti post  
 conquestum <8> vicesimo Quinto ∞

Iohannes Thorp'§  
*Mortuus* <1> Et Ego Iohannes Thorp' Ciuis et Scriptor litere Curialis Ciuitatis memorate  
 senciens atque veraciter <2> cognoscens prememoratum Iuramentum ex magna  
 fidelitate ac pro Communi vtilitate fore ordinatum et <3> confectum/illud  
 affectans toto meo posse deo mediante tenere et obseruare. mea propria et  
 spontanea <4> voluntate sacrosanctis per me corporaliter tactis huiusmodi prestiti  
 Iuramentum/Consenciens itaque <5> ad omnes laudabiles ordinaciones pre-  
 recitatas. ac eas quantum in me est affirmans In quorum <6> premissorum  
 testimonium manu mea propria hic me scripsi Quinto die Mensis Marcij Anno  
 domini Millesimo <7> CCCC<sup>mo</sup> quadragesimo sexto. Regni vero Illustrissimi  
 principis et domini nostri Henrici sexti Regis Anglie et <8> ffrancie post con-  
 questum Anno Vicesimo quinto

\* Under-line with slight paraph to this signature.

† First stroke of a letter, probably M[ortuus], at this point.

‡ Under-line, with bracket ends, below this word

§ Under-line with elaborate paraph to this signature.

## PLATE VI

COMMON PAPER, p. 77 (part)

**HANDS.** (i.) Small fifteenth-century *Set Hand*, with pronounced slope to right in long letters and occasionally in others.

(ii.) Rough rendering of *Bastard Hand*, medium size.

(iii.) The same, not quite so rough.

(iv.) Typical fifteenth-century small *Set Hand*, with slight backward slope of short minims, contrasting thick and thin strokes and general splayed and squat effect: compare closely with (i.): also with iv (iii.) and v (i.) and (ii.), vii (i.) and (iv.), viii (ii.) and ix (ii.).

**LETTER FORMS.** All previously noted forms occur in one or other of these hands—e.g. short *a*; short *r* with foot; *r* (2 form) with tail; weak lower part to

certain long letters, especially *g*; final *s*: but note very definite use of *t* with head, coming well above the cross and even, in (iv.), inclined to the right. Note also capitals in (iii.). *t* with head well above the cross is now quite established.

**ABBREVIATION and PUNCTUATION**, as before: note again use of virgula as full stop in (i.); and final flourishes in (ii.), (iii.) and (iv.). Note also liaison of word broken at end of line in (iii.) line 3.

The **PARAPH** has now reached a typical form: also **DECORATION**—cp. the initial in (iii.). **NOTARY'S MARK** to (i.) though (**NOTE**) the writer does not describe himself as a Notary; it is to be observed that the drawing here is very superior to the writing: compare Plate vii (iii.).

### TRANSCRIPT

Willelmus Slade†	<p>&lt;1&gt; Et ego Willelmus Slade Ciuis et Scriptor litere Curialis Ciuitatis prenotate sciens intime &lt;2&gt; et considerans prescriptum iuramentum fore vtile et proficuum ex necesse* que* editum. pro communi populi &lt;3&gt; vtilitate/Ideo illud deo omnipotenti adiuuante pro posse meo tenere et obseruare sacrosanctis &lt;4&gt; Euaungelijs per me tactis iuraui/Consenciens itaque ad omnes et singulas ordinationes artem prefatam &lt;5&gt; concernentes mea propria manu vna cum nomine meo hic scripsi tricesimo die mensis Iulij Anno &lt;6&gt; regni Regis Edwardi quarti quinto/</p>	Willelmus‡ Slade
Iohannes Wormelee† Mortuus§	<p>&lt;1&gt; Et ego Iohannes Wormelee Ciuis et Scriptor litere Curialis Ciuitatis prelibate intime sciens &lt;2&gt; et considerans Iuramentum prerecitatum fore vtile et pro communi vtilitate editum Igitur illud diuina gracia &lt;3&gt; mediante per posse meum intendo obseruare et tenere Sacrosanctis Euangelijs per me tactis iuraui &lt;4&gt; Itaque consenciens ad omnes et singulas ordinationes Artem prescriptam concernentes mea &lt;5&gt; propria manu vna cum nomine meo hic subscripsi Decimo nono die mensis Septembris Anno &lt;6&gt; Regni Regis Edwardi quarti post conquestum septimo ./.</p>	} mortuus
Thomas Hardyng† Mortuus§	<p>&lt;1&gt; Et ego Thomas Hardyng Ciuis et Scriptor Ciuitatis prelibate sciens intime et &lt;2&gt; considerans prescriptum Iuramentum fore vtile et proficuum ex necesse que* editum* pro communi populi &lt;3&gt; vtilitate. Ideo illud vero Deo omnipotenti adiuuante pro posse meo tenere et obseruare sacro// &lt;4&gt; sanctis Euaungelijs. per me tactis iuraui. Consenciens itaque ad omnes et singulas ordinationes &lt;5&gt; artem prefatam concernentes mea propria manu   vma⊕ cum nomine meo hic scripsi Vicesimo primo &lt;6&gt; Die mensis Septembris Anno regni Regis Edwardi quarti post conquestum Septimo ...</p>	

\* Written separately in MS.

† An under-line to this signature ending in elaborate paraph on the right.

‡ Placed below the writer's Notarial Mark.

§ An off-set from writing on the opposite page between this word and the signature.

|| Inserted above line with caret.

⊕ Sic MS.



# PLATE VI

Ricardus Grene*	<1> Et ego Ricardus Grene Ciuis et Scriptor litere Curialis Ciuitatis sepedicte/ senciens <2> manifeste et cognoscens Iuramentum antedictum vtile fore et ex necesse editum/Illud <3> Intime deo dante pro posse meo inuiolabiliter obseruare/ sponte et non coactus/tactis sacrosanctis <4> euaungelijs/ corporale prestiti iura- mentum/ Vltorius† que† consenciens ad omnes alias ordinaciones <5> prescriptas que pro commodo honore et vtilitate mistere‡ predicte facte existunt et constitute. <6> Et in premissorum euidenciam clariorem manu mea propria/ presenti pagina scripsi/Mensis <7> Septembris die Vicesima secunda/Anno Regni Regis Edwardi quarti Anglie septimo 1.	} mortuus
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\* Under-line to this signature ending in elaborate paraph  
on right.

† Written separately in MS.  
‡ Sic MS.

## PLATE VII

COMMON PAPER, p. 80 (part)

**HANDS.** (i.) A typical small *Fifteenth-century Set Hand*. No pronounced slope but great irregularity. Note particularly the small mean hair-line strokes of *p* below the line: also the exaggerated contrast of thick and thin strokes and indications of pen-pressure.

(ii.) Rough medium-size hand, based on a bad *Bastard Hand*.

(iii.) Small cramped *Bastard Hand*.

(iv.) As (a) but not so extreme.

**LETTER FORMS.** *g*, *p*, *r* and *f* are typical in all four hands: (i.) and (ii.) have also long as well as short *r*.

**ABBREVIATIONS and PUNCTUATION** (which is very slight) as in previous examples: final flourishes to (i.)

and (ii.). Full stop is used with no more value than comma in (ii.).

**LANGUAGE.** Note bad Latin in (iii.).

**DECORATION.** Note decorated initial *E* in (iii.) and (iv.), both typical style though not developed: also the word *Vlterius*, introducing a new clause in line 4 of (iii.). Two well marked **PARAPHS**. Two **NOTARY'S MARKS**, still using the interlaced form well: (iii.) does not describe himself as one but mentions his notarial sign.

**SPECIAL NOTES.** Sheet has been guarded with parchment.

### TRANSCRIPT

Simon Lorymer\*  
*Mortuus* <1> Et ego Simon Lorymer Ciuis et Scriptor Litere Curialis Ciuitatis London' memorate attendens et intelligens <2> iuramentum prescriptum pro intima Veritate et populi communi vtilitate prouisum ordinatum et stabilitum deo opitulante <3> Ipsum inuiolabiliter obseruare et adimplere sacrosanctis per me corporaliter tactis iurau/. Consenciens Ita que† ad omnes <4> reliquas ordinationes prenotatas manu mea propria hic scripsi nono die mensis Iulij. Anno domini Millesimo CCCC<sup>mo</sup> <5> septuagesimo quarto et Anno regni Regis Edwardi quarti post conquestum quartodecimo ✓.

Ricardus Broun\*\*  
*Mortuus* <1> Et ego Ricardus Broun' Ciuis et Scriptor Litere Curialis Ciuitatis london' memorate attendens et <2> intelligens iuramentum prescriptum pro intima veritate et populi communi vtilitate prouisum ordinatum <3> et stabilitum deo opitulante ipsum inuiolabiliter obseruare et adimplere sacrosanctis per me ~‡ <4> corporaliter tactis iurau. Consenciens Itaque ad omnes reliquas ordinationes prenotatas manu <5> mea propria hic scripsi nono die mensis Iulii Anno domini Millesimo CCCC<sup>mo</sup> septuagesimo quarto et <6> Anno regni Regis Edwardi quarti post conquestum quartodecimo ∴

Willelmus Camp' ||  
*mortuus* <1> Et Ego Willelmus Camp' Ciuis et Scriptor litere Curialis Ciuitatis London' senciens manifeste et <2> cognoscens Iuramentum sepe dictum vtile fore et ex discretorum magna Industria prouisum et editum. <3> Illud Intime Deo dante pro posse meo Inuiolabiliter obseruare sponte et non coactus tactis sacrosanctis <4> Euaungelijs corporale prestiti Iuramentum Vlterius† que‡ consenciens ad omnes alias ordinationes rationabiles <5> pre-taxatas que pro honore et vtilitate mistere§ predicte confecte sunt et constitute East que‡ quantum in me est <6> affirmans et in humanis dum gessero Imposterum fiducialiter perficere affectans et supportare auxilians <7> prout attinet In quorum Robur et testimonium omnium premissorum manu mea propria Iterato me hic <8> subscripsi Signumque officij Notariatus mei solitum et consuetum hic Apposui et Infixi Anno domini <9> Millesimo CCCC<sup>mo</sup> Septuagesimo quinto mensis vero septembris Die vicesima Regnante Excellentissimo <10> in Christo Principe et domino nostro Edwardo dei gracia Rege Anglie et ffrancie Illustri quarto Anno Regni sui xv<sup>o</sup>.

\* Under-line ending in a paraph on the right, below this signature.

† The two words separate in MS.

‡ A penmark serving to fill up the line.

§ Sic MS.

|| Name written under the writer's Notarial Mark.



PLATE VII

<1> Et Ego Iohannes Manee Ciuis et Scriptor Litere Curialis Ciuitatis London' senciens  
 <2> manifeste et cognoscens Iuramentum sepedictum vtile fore et ex discretorum magna  
 Industria <3> prouisum et editum Illud Intime Deo Dante pro posse meo Inuiolabiliter  
 obseruare sponte et non <4> coactus tactis sacrosanctis Euaungelijs corporale prestiti  
 Iuramentum vlterius\* que\* consenciens ad <5> omnes alias ordinaciones rationabiles  
 Iohannes pretaxatas que pro honore et vtilitate mistere† predicte <6> confecte sunt et constitute  
 Manee‡ Eas\* que\* quantum in me est affirmans et in humanis dum gessero

\* *The two words separate in MS.*

† *Sic MS.*

‡ *Name written under the writer's Notarial Mark.*

# PLATE VIII

COMMON PAPER, p. 83 (part)

**HANDS.** (i.) Rough Hand, almost *Free*, apparently derived from a very poor *Bastard Hand*.

(ii.) *Fifteenth-century Set Hand* of type already noticed, with exaggerated long strokes sloping to the right.

(iii.) Small cramped *Bastard Hand*, with some of the same characteristics as (ii.) above.

**LETTER FORMS.** (i.) Current forms in this hand should be studied with particular care. Note specially the *e* (*litere*, line 1; *intelligens* and *veritate*, line 2; *me*, line 4); *g* (*Ego* and *Tasburgh*', line 1; *intelligens*, line 2); *o* (*sacroscantis*, line 4) and *x*: contrast *C* and *T* in line 1.

(ii.) Tendencies seen in previous plates all re-appear. Note particularly exaggerated smallness or alternatively length of strokes below line (*opitulante*,

line 3 and *primo*, line 6). Note pen-pressure, e.g. in *Regis*, line 5.

(iii.) Note pen-pressure on some long strokes. Note varying degrees of currency of certain letters e.g. *e* (*ego*, *Goswell*', *litere* and *attendens*, line 1).

**ABBREVIATIONS.** (i.) has the *o* form. Note *conjoined* *rR* in (i.).

**PUNCTUATION.** None in (i.); little and, as usual, little meaning in the rest. Concluding flourish in (ii.) and virgula in (iii.).

**LANGUAGE.** Bad Latin in (i.) *sacroscantis*, and mistake in (iii.) *immobiliter*.

**DECORATION.** One elaborate and characteristic **PARAPH.** *Text* used for marginal in (ii.).

**SPECIAL NOTES.** A signature with initial only in (i.). Note appearance of year dates.

## TRANSCRIPT

E' Tasburgh' Mortuus ✓  
 <1> Et Ego Edwardus 'Tasburgh' Ciuis et Scriptor litere Curialis Ciuitatis london' memorate <2> attendens et indil\* intelligens iuramentum prescriptum pro intima veritate et populi Communi <3> vtilitate prouisum ordinatum et stabilitum deo opitulante ipsum inuiolabiliter obseruare <4> et adimplere sacroscantis† per me corporaliter tactis iurauī Consenciens itaque ad omnes <5> Reliquas ordinaciones prenotatas manu mea propria hic subscripsi terciodecimo <6> die Marcij anno domini M<sup>o</sup> CCCCLxxx<sup>mo</sup> Et anno regni Regis Edwardi iiij<sup>to</sup> xxj<sup>o</sup>

Iohannes Wilkynson'‡ mortuus ✓  
 <1> Et ego Iohannes Wilkynson' Ciuis et Scriptor litere Curialis Ciuitatis London' memorate attendens et <2> intelligens iuramentum prescriptum pro intima Veritate et populi Communi vtilitate prouisum ordinatum <3> et stabilitum deo opitulante ipsum inuiolabiliter obseruare et adimplere sacrosanctis euaungelijs per me <4> corporaliter tactis iurauī. Consenciens itaque ad omnes reliquas ordinaciones prenotatas manu mea <5> propria hic subscripsi vicesimo sexto Die Iunij Anno Domini M<sup>o</sup> CCCCLxxxj<sup>o</sup> Et Anno regni Regis <6> Edwardi quarti vicesimo primo

{Nicholaus  
 Goswell'‡  
 Mortuus ✓  
 <1> Et ego Nicholaus Goswell' Ciuis et Scriptor litere Curialis Ciuitatis london' memorate attendens <2> et intelligens iuramentum prescriptum pro intima veritate et populi Communi vtilitate prouisum et stabilitum deo dante ipsum <3> immobiliter os\* obseruare et perimplere sacrosanctis euaungelis† per me corporaliter tactis iurauī/Consenciens itaque ad omnes <4> reliquas ordinaciones preclaratas/manu mea propria hic subscripsi vicesimo sexto die Iunij/Anno domini Millesimo <5> CCCCLxxxj<sup>o</sup>/Et Anno regni Regis Edwardi iiij<sup>to</sup> xxj<sup>o</sup>/

\* Struck through.

† Sic MS.

‡ Under-line, ending with paraph on right, below this signature.



# PLATE IX

## COMMON PAPER, p. 87 (part)

**HANDS.** (i.) Pure *Bastard Hand*, carefully though not very well written: rather narrow letters.

(ii.) Advanced *Fifteenth-century Hand*; well on towards *Secretary* characteristics, but large.

(iii.) Small *Fifteenth-century Hand*, very roughly made but hardly *free*. The size is characteristic and interesting.

**LETTER FORMS.** (ii.) Repays careful study. Note particularly use of 2 form of *r* in all positions and the current short *r* beside it (*litere curialis*, line 1) and form of *e* (*predicte*, line 2). Note also *eloquijs* (line 5).

The *t* has now a head well above the cross but note that (ii.) and (iii.) besides using it where *c* is normal (*intentione*, (ii.) line 3) misuse it otherwise.

(iii.) has also advanced features: note the sigma form of final *s* (*Consensiens*, line 5) as well as that seen in *Ciuis* (line 1): these appear also in (ii.).

**PUNCTUATION.** As before. (i.) and (ii.) have none except the final flourish.

**LANGUAGE.** Poor Latin (*Consensiens* in (iii.) line 5, etc.).

**PARAPH** with *R* worked into it twice.

## TRANSCRIPT

Willelmus Broun' \*  
mortuus  
✓  
<1> Et ego Willelmus Broun' Ciuis et Scriptor litere Curialis Ciuitatis predicte <2> sciens iuramentum prenotatum vtile fore et ex discretorum magna <3> Intencione prouisum et editum Idem vero altissimo adiuuante pro posse <4> meo inuiolabiliter obseruare sacrosanctis dei Eloquijs per me tactis <5> Iuramentum sponte prestiti corporale Consenciens itaque ad singulas <6> ordinationes artem prenotatam concernentes mea manu propria cum <7> nomine meo scripsi hic quintodecimo die mensis Maij Anno regni Regis <8> Henrici septimi septimo ?

Thomas Laurens †  
Mortuus  
✓  
<1> Et ego Thomas Laurens ciuis et scriptor litere curialis <2> ciuitatis predicte sentiens iuramentum prenotatum <3> vtile fore et ex discretorum magna intentione prouisum <4> et editum Idem vero altissimo adiuuante pro posse <5> meo inuiolabiliter obseruare sacrosanctis dei eloquijs per me <6> tactis Iuramentum sponte prestiti corporale consentiens <7> itaque ad singulas ordinationes artem prenotatam concer// <8> nentes mea manu propria cum nomine meo scripsi hic <9> Vltimo die Ianuarij Anno regni regis Henrici septimi <10> octauo .j.

Ricardus Smyth §  
mortuus  
✓  
<1> Et ego Ricardus Smyth' Ciuis et Scriptor litere Curialis l‡ Ciuitatis london' <2> sciens iuramentum prenotatum vtile fore et ex discretorum magna intencione <3> prouisum et editum Ideo idem vero altissimo adiuuante pro posse meo inuiolabiliter <4> obseruare sacrosanctis dei eloquijs per me tactis iuramentum sponte prestiti corporale <5> Consensiens|| itaque ad singulas ordinationes prescriptam artem concernentes <6> manu mea propria vna cum nomine meo hic scripsi sexto die Mensis ffebruarij <7> anno domini Millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo secundo Et anno <8> ⊕ Regni Regis Henrici septimi post conquestum octauo/

\* Under-line below this signature and mortuus.

† Under-line, ending in paraph on right, below signature.

‡ The writer perhaps began to write london'.

§ Under-line as before, including letter R.

|| Sic MS.

⊕ A word written in and half rubbed out; perhaps octauo.

# PLATE X

'COMMON PAPER, p. 191 (part)

**HANDS.** (i.) Medium size *Bastard* and (ii.) rather large *Secretary*, upright except for certain long letters sloped: emphasized words in a cross between *Text* and *Bastard*. This page is selected in order to shew derivation of many *Secretary* forms direct from *Bastard*, and at the same time the contrast between the two in penmanship (see Part I, p. 58).

**LETTER FORMS.** (i.) All the ordinary *Bastard* forms with angles, tapering strokes and other characteristics pronounced. Note current form of *e*, form of *g*, short *r* etc. Note use of *thorn*.

(ii.) Contains most of the characteristic *Secretary*

forms—spurred *a*, *e*, typical *r* and *p* (with very short tail), curved *t* and so forth. Note capitals decorated with central dot and one or two simplified forms, such as *Atkynson*', line 13 and *Barthelmew*, line 12.

**LANGUAGE.** English. Latin Marginalia in (i.). Note that (ii.) is much more certain in spelling than (i.) and uses comparatively few **SUSPENSIONS** for doubtful endings. Note **ELISIONS** (*thuse* in line 2, etc.).

**PUNCTUATION.** Full stops and a final virgula in (i.). Full stop, genuine comma (l. 23) and the stop with virgula (line 24) in (ii.).

## TRANSCRIPT

pena C s'\* <1> contrary to this acte beyng monysshed' as is aforsaid' shall' forfeite and pay at euery  
<2> tyme that he so dooth' the Contrary. C. s' sterlinges to be applyed' to thuse  
herunder <3> writen' that is to sey the one half' therof to be egally deuyded' bitwene  
thet <4> Chamber of the Guyldhall' of london' and the body of the same ffelaship'.  
And <5> the other half' to thuse of the said' apprentice if he or his ffrendes woll'  
therof'† <6> compleyn' and make due prouf' of the same. And that also euery maister  
takyng <7> such' apprentice shall' geve and deliuer to the Wardeyns of the said ffelaship'  
for pe <8> tyme beyng to thuse of the Tresour of the said ffelaship' A Spone of siluer  
price <9> of iij s' iiij d' or iij s' iiij d' in money for the same spone/

A Spone or  
iij s' iiij d'  
modo‡ iij s'  
vj d'‡

<1> And for asmuche as it is not playnely prescribed at the making of the order last.  
<2> aforespecified w'in what tyme euery persone of the saide felowshipp' sholde bringe  
and <3> present the name of his apprentice or apprentices to the Wardeyns of the saide†  
<4> felowshipp' for the tyme beyng not only to cause the name of the saide† <5> apprentice  
to be written' in the boke in the saide felowshipp', But also to be† <6> examyned by them  
or by some of the saide felowshipp' whether the same apprentice <7> haue his congruytie  
in the lattyn' tonge or not. To thentent that reformacon's§ <8> and redresse may be had  
and taken' therin accordingly, It is nowe therfore† <9> decreed condiscended and fully  
agreed by thassentes and consentes of Thomas†† <10> Went and William Pierson now  
Wardeyns of the saide company And by§ <11> the consentes and agreementes of William  
Blackwell Joh'n lee thelder Joh'n†§ <12> Melsham John|| Richard'⊕ Maunsell Thomas  
Pierson' Barthelmew Brokesby Thomas§ <13> Atkynson' Thomas Wytton and Joh'n  
Norden' at a meating att the† <14> Wexchaundalers hall in london' the xvj<sup>th</sup> daie of  
Marche anno domini 1557, That† <15> euery persone and persones of the saide Mystery or  
felowshipp' whiche fromhensfourthe <16> shall take and haue any apprentice or apprentices  
vj Weekes\*\* shall w'in Syx Weekes†† <17> next and imediatly after he or they shall so take and haue  
any suche† <18> apprentice or apprentices bounde vnto hym or them Bring and present  
the† <19> same apprentice to the wardeyns of the saide Mystery or felowshipp' for the§

\* This marginal underlined in MS.

† A flourish here, filling up line.

‡ to‡ added later, probably by the hand that wrote the next entry.

§ Dot used to fill up line.

|| Struck through.

⊕ Inserted above line with caret by another, possibly later, hand.

\*\* Added in later hand.

†† In right hand margin w<sup>th</sup>in vj weekes to present apprentices apparently added in later hand.



PLATE X

<20> tyme being to thentent to haue his and their names entred in the\* <21> comen' booke of the saide felowshipp' and to be examyned in forme aforesaide <22> according to the effecte and true meanyng of the saide first recyted <23> order, vpon suche paynes and penalties as in the same first order is\* <24> declared./And further that no persone or persones of the saide Mystery or\*† <25> felowshipp' shall at any tyme or tymes from-hensforthe willingly suffer any <26> his apprentice or apprentices to Certefie or witnes the Sealling or delyuery <27> of any dede Evidence bonde writing or conveyaunce whatsoever, vnles <28> he or they haue byn bounde apprentice wtout fraude or covyn' wt his m<sup>r</sup> <29> by the space of one hole yere at the least vpon' payne for the ffirst <30> offence contrary to this order x s' and for the second offence—xx s' and <31> for the thirde offence xl s to be levied to suche like vses [.....‡]

\* *A flourish here, filling up the line.*

† *Dot used to fill up line.*

‡ *Last part of this line cut off in Plate.*

# PLATE XI

## COMMON PAPER, p. 93 (part)

**HANDS.** (i.) *Free Hand*, late fifteenth-century style. Few of the hands which appear in the *Common Paper* are so completely and deliberately rough: but compare Plates XII (iii.) and XIII (i.).

(ii.) Very rough *Bastard*, almost a *Free Hand*.

**LETTER FORMS.** (i.) All the forms of letters are worth careful study and comparison with those in rough *Bastard* and *Free Hands* elsewhere (e.g. (ii.) below and Plates XII (iii.), XXII (ii.), XXIV, XXV and XXVII (i.)): note particularly those of *e* (two forms in *circumspecte*, line 2); *g* (two forms in *ignorancia*, line 8 and *recognoscens*, line 2). The *h*, *p* and *r* have not reached their most current forms, but note *x* (*excusetur*, line 9). Many letters are slurred or only half-written (*scriptor* and *Curialis*, line 1, etc.). *v* used medially in the

*personal name* is noticeable in this and the next number.

(ii.) Similar but not so pronounced.

**ABBREVIATIONS.** Note in both the rough round turn-up of a final letter serving for either suspension or contraction (*populi* and *confectum*, (ii.) line 3). Note the enlarged use of superior letters in (i.) lines 1 and 2: see Part I, page 45. **CONJOINED *rR*** in (i.) line 6.

**PUNCTUATION.** Full stop and virgula but still with little system. Note the double virgula at the end of (ii.).

**LANGUAGE.** Very rough Latin in both.

**DECORATION.** Good paraph in (ii.). This writer is a notary though he uses no mark.

### TRANSCRIPT

Ricardus } Staverton }	<1> Et Ego Ricardus Staverton' Ciuis et scriptor litere Curialis Ciuitatis london' <2> videns
	circumspecte et recognoscens antescriptum Iuramentum pro intima veritate atque
mortuus	<3> populi communi vtilitate confectum ipsum tenere et affirmare mea propria ac bona
	voluntate <4> eiusmodi Iuramentum sacrosanctis corporaliter tactis Iuravi conscenciens*
✓	pariter et <5> concedens ad omnes alias nouas ordinaciones prerecitas. In quorum pre-
	missorum testimonium <6> manu propria hic scripsi decimo octauo die mensis Iulij
	Anno regni Regis henrici vij <sup>mi</sup> post <7> conquestum xx <sup>o</sup> / hanc meam inscripcionem
	h† perlegentis constanciam probiter deprecando <8> vt mei discere et reformari volentis
	ignorancia inter tantos eruditos Irriprehensibiliter* <9> excusetur.

[Considerable space left blank in MS.]

Iohannes Reve‡ mortuus	<1> Et ego Iohannes Reve Ciuis et Scriptor litere Curialis Ciuitatis london' publicus
	sacris <2> Apostolica et Imperiali Auctoritatibus Notarius videns circumspecte et re-
	cognoscens antescriptum <3> Iuramentum pro intima veritate atque populi communi
	vtilitate confectum ipsum tenere et <4> affirmare me* propria ac bona voluntate/huiusmodi
	Iuramentum sacrosanctis corporaliter <5> tactis Iuravi /Conscenciens pariter et concedens
	ad omnes alias nouas ordinaciones <6> prerecitas/In quorum premissorum testimonium
✓	manu propria hic scripsi decimo octauo <7> die Iulij/Anno regni Regis post Conquestum
	vicesimo/hanc meam inscripcionem <8> perlegentis Constanciam probiter deprecando
	vt mei discere et reformari/volentes* <9> ignorancia inter tantos eruditos Irriprehensi-
	biliter* excusetur//

\* Sic MS.

† h struck through.

‡ Large paraph following signature.



## PLATE XII

### COMMON PAPER, p. 101 (part)

**HANDS.** (i.) Medium-size rough hand between *Set* and *Free*: very poor model.

(ii.) Medium *Legal Set Hand*: cp. Plate XLIII (ii.).

(iii.) *Free Hand*.

**LETTER FORMS.** (i.) and (iii.). *Free* characteristics as noted in previous plate but with some more advanced forms, especially in (iii.). Note particularly highly current writing of *p*, *s* and especially *r*, which will be seen shortly in *Secretary* hands. The 2 form of *r*, however, is also used frequently and in all kinds of position (*Scriptor litere Curialis*, line 1). The *r* *r*' (*regni regis*) in line 7 and other slurred letters also should be noted and the *e*, indistinguishable from a small *d*.

(ii.) Note the typical exaggerated long strokes and

bows below the line, comparative regularity as regards angle to the vertical and other *Legal* characteristics. The writer also signs in *Legal*. Among letters notice the 2 form of *r* with and without tail (*corporale*, line 3: current *c* in the same); current *g* and *c*; etc.

**ABBREVIATIONS.** As in previous plate. Note the current forms of *per* and *pro*, especially in (i.) and (ii.) (line 4 in each): and the conjoined and abbreviated double *r* for *regni regis*. Also free use of *ser* abbreviation in Latin and abbreviated superior letters (*Ciuitatis* in (iii.) line 1).

**LANGUAGE.** Bad Latin in all.

**SPECIAL NOTE.** The writer of (iii.) signs his name with a medial *u* and writes it again with *v*.

### TRANSCRIPT

Iohannes lee <1> Et ego Iohannes lee Ciuis et Scriptor litere Curialis Ciuitatis london' Sciens Iuramentum sepedictum vtile <2> fore et ex magna discretorum intencione prouisum et editum  
senior  
mortuus  
et Idem fauente deo pro mea\* virili inuiolabiliter <3> obseruare Cupiens et consenciens  
tactis Sacrosancte\* dei euaungelijs corporale sc† prestiti Sacramentum Et ad singulas  
✓ <4> ordinaciones artem predictam concernentes per me fideliter perimplendas hec manu  
mea propria Scripsi et† xiiij <5> die Ianuarij Anno regni regis Henrici Octavi xviiij<sup>o</sup>./

Iohannes Pyne <1> Et ego Iohannes Pyne Ciuis et Scriptor litere Curialis Ciuitatis london' Sciens Iuramentum sepedictum vtile <2> fore et ex magna discretorum intencione prouisum  
Pyne  
mortuus ‡ et editum et idem fauente deo pro mea\* virili inuiolabiliter os† obseruare <3> Cupiens et  
consenciens tactis Sacrosancte\* dei euaungelijs corporale prestiti Sacramentum Et ad  
✓ singulas ordinaciones <4> artem predictam concernentes per me fideliter perimplendas hec  
manu mea propria Scripsi xiiij die Ianuarij <5> anno regni regis . Henrici octavi xviiij<sup>o</sup>. 7 .

Ricardus Stauerton' <1> Et ego Ricardus Staverton' Iunior Ciuis et scriptor litere Curialis Ciuitatis <2> london'  
Iunior  
mortuus ‡ sciens Iuramentum sepedictum vtile fore et ex magna <3> discretorum intencione prouisum  
et editum et idem fauente deo pro mea\* virili <4> inuiolabiliter obseruare Cupiens et  
consenciens tactis sacrosancte\* dei <5> euaungelijs corporale prestiti sacramentum Et ad  
✓ singulas ordinaciones artem <6> predictam concernentes per me fideliter perimplendas  
Hec manu mea propria <7> scripsi xiiij<sup>o</sup> die Ianuarij Anno regni regis Henrici viij xx<sup>o</sup>

\* *Sic MS.*

† *Struck through.*

‡ *Under-line, with slight paraph, to this word.*

# PLATE XIII

'COMMON PAPER, p. 109 (part)

**HANDS.** (i.) Large *Free Hand*, highly current, very rough and irregular, sometimes slurring whole letters.

(ii.) Small *Legal Set Hand*: current. Compare Plates xli (vii.) and (viii.) and xlii (i.). Note the signature in the same hand.

(iii.) *Bastard Hand*, with slight suggestions of the *Legal*.

**LETTER FORMS.** (i.) All the current forms in this should be carefully studied: *e* is getting to its most current form (contrast *esse*, line 3, and *Swane*, line 7); note the current *E* in *Editum* (line 3); *g* still keeps the final horizontal stroke; *h* for the first time in our plates shews (*hic*, line 5) a fully developed currency; *m*, *n* and *u* are often represented by a mere line (e.g. *vtilissimum*, line 2); *p* has not the most current form; observe the tailed *r*, exactly like a 3, in the marginal

and the extraordinarily bad *R* (*Regine*, line 6); the sigma *s* is fully developed (*ordinaciones*, line 4).

(ii.) All the long-stroked letters are very typical. Note also the tailed *r* as in (i.) above and a more current *g*: also the two forms of *a* (*satis* and *Iuramentum*).

(iii.) Note in the long letters the comparative absence of tapering strokes.

**ABBREVIATIONS, PUNCTUATION and LANGUAGE** call for only the same remarks as in previous plates.

**DECORATION.** Note the paraph in (ii.) shewing the initial which is not given with the signature.

**SPECIAL NOTES.** The Book seems to have been badly kept up at this time (cp. the dates of the entries). Note the blank space.

This page has been repaired with paper, a parchment guard, and silk gauze (seen in (i.)).

## TRANSCRIPT

Norden' <1> Et ego Iohannes Norden' Ciuis et Scriptor litere Curialis Ciuitatis london' <2> satis  
mortuus sciens Iuramentum quod modo prestiti longe fore vtilissimum eaque <3> Intencione pro-  
uisum esse et Editum deo adiuuante inuolabiliter\* quantum <4> potero obsaruare\* con-  
sentio Ideoque ad singulas ordinaciones artem nostram <5> predictam concernentes ipsa†  
manu nomen Meum hic scripsi xxiiij die <6> Mensis no<sup>†</sup> octobris Anno regni Regine  
Marie primo et ads<sup>‡</sup> admissus§—Anno xxviij<sup>o</sup> <7> h 8 tempore Iohannis<sup>‡</sup> Iohannis Reue  
et Willelmi Swane gardianorum et cetera

Dawson' || <1> Et Ego Willelmus Dawson' Ciuis et Scriptor litere Curialis Ciuitatis london' satis  
mortuus<sup>‡</sup> sciens Iuramentum quod modo <2> prestiti longe fore vtilissimum eaque Intencione pro-  
uisum esse et Editum deo adiuuante in\* violabiliter quantum potero obseruare <3> con-  
sencio Ideoque ad singulas ordinaciones ur<sup>‡</sup> artem nostram predictam concernentes ipsa  
manu nomen'\* meum hic <4> scripsi xxiiij<sup>o</sup> die Mensis Octobris Anno regni Marie dei  
gracia Anglie ffrancie et Hibernie Regine fidei defensoris <5> et in terra Ecclesie Angli-  
cane et Hibernice Supremi capitis primo/

[Considerable space left blank here in MS.]

Caldwall' || <1> Et ego Galfridus Caldwall' Ciuis et scriptor litere Curialis Ciuitatis london' satis sciens  
mortuus Iuramentum quod modo prestiti longe <2> fore vtilissimum eaque intencione prouisum  
esse et editum deo adiuuante inuolabiliter pro posse obseruare consencio Ideoque <3> ad  
singulas ordinaciones artem nostram predictam concernentes manu mea propria hic scripsi  
vicesimo octauo die mensis <4> Marcij Anno primo Regni Regis Edwardi sexti et ad-  
missus tempore Willelmi Swane et Willelmi Carkeke 4

\* Sic MS.

† A penmark of uncertain meaning in front of this word.

‡ Struck through.

§ Part of this word and all that follows it apparently written in later.

|| Under-line, ending in paraph on the right, to this signature.



# PLATE XIV

## COMMON PAPER, p. 113 (part)

**HANDS.** (i.) Large, rough upright *Secretary Hand*.

(ii.) Highly current sloped hand, with all the *Secretary* features, but recalling a little the current hands of the late fifteenth century.

(iii.) As (i.) but a little neater.

(iv.) As (i.) but larger and with more finger-pressure.

(v.) Neat round upright *Secretary*: note the finger-pressure on diagonals of *d*.

(vi.) As (v.) but more narrow and crabbed.

Note that *Secretary* characteristics are now general though the writing is still on the large side. Exaggerated length and slope of long strokes, particularly *f*, is noticeable, especially in (ii.).

**LETTER FORMS.** The forms of *e*, *g*, *p*, *r*, final *s*, *t*

and *v* should be studied throughout: and that of *S* in (ii.) and (vi.) in contrast with the same letter in (iv.).

**ABBREVIATIONS.** Note abbreviation of superior letter in *Ciuitatis* in (ii.), (iv.), (v.) and (vi.): also the abbreviation for *er* in *obseruare*.

**PUNCTUATION.** True commas appear in (v.) and (vi.), line 2.

**LANGUAGE.** We have the *t* in *consentio* but *c* in *intencione* throughout. Medial *v* in (iii.) line 3 (*adiuvante*, etc.) and elsewhere. (v.) has what is apparently an attempt to revive the medieval cedilla under *e*, for *ae*, in *regine Marie prime*, but also in line 3 under *editum*: and (ii.) line 5 seems to shew a diphthong.

**ARABIC NUMERALS** appear.

## TRANSCRIPT

<1> ordinaciones artem nostram predictam concernentes manu mea propria hic scripsi  
xxiiiij<sup>o</sup> <2> die Octobris Anno regni Marie dei gracia Anglie ffrancie et hibernie Regine  
fidei <3> defensoris et in terra Ecclesie Anglicane et hibernice supremi Capitis primo/  
<4> ¶ Tempore Ricardi Maunsell' et Thome Pierson gardianorum\*

Nicholaus  
Kyngston'/  
mortuus

✓

<1> Et ego Nicholaus Kyngston' Ciuis et Scriptor litere Curialis Ciuitatis london'  
<2> satis sciens Iuramentum quod modo prestiti longe fore vtilissimum Eaque inten-  
cione <3> prouisum esse et editum deo adiuuante inuolabiliter pro posse meo obseruare  
<4> consentio/Ideo ad singulas ordinaciones artem nostram predictam concernentes  
manu <5> mea propria hic scripsi xxiiiij<sup>o</sup> octobris 1553<sup>†</sup>. Anno Regni Regine  
Marie primae <6> primo/  
<7> ¶ Tempore Ricardi Maunsell et Thome Pierson gardianorum\*

Augustinus  
Darrys/  
mortuus

✓

<1> Et ego Augustinus Darrys Ciuis et Scriptor litere Curialis Ciuitatis London' satis  
<2> sciens Iuramentum quod modo prestiti longe fore vtilissimum Eaque intencione  
provisum <3> esse et editum deo adiuuante inuolabili<sup>‡</sup> pro posse meo observare con-  
sentio/Ideo <4> ad singulas ordinaciones artem nostram predictam concernentes manu  
mea propria hic scripsi <5> xxv<sup>o</sup> die Octobris 1553 Anno regni Regine Marie prime  
primo/ <6> ¶ Tempore Maunsell' et Pierson Gardianorum\*

Iohannes Lee  
Iunior ||  
mortuus

✓

<1> Et ego Iohannes Lee Iunior<sup>§</sup> Ciuis et Scriptor litere Curialis Ciuitatis London' satis  
<2> sciens Iuramentum quod modo prestiti longe fore vtilissimum Eaque intencione  
<3> provisum esse et editum deo adiuuante inuolabiliter pro posse meo observare  
<4> consentio Ideo ad singulas ordinaciones artem nostram predictam concernentes  
<5> manu mea propria hic Scripsi xxv<sup>o</sup> Die Octobris 1553 Anno regni Regine <6> Marie  
prime Primo/ || / <7> ¶ Tempore Maunsell' et Pierson gardianorum\*

Alexander  
Rotherforthe

<1> Et ego Alexander Rotherforth Ciuis et Scriptor litere Curialis ciuitatis london' satis  
sciens <2> Iuramentum quod modo prestiti longe fore vtilissimum, eaque intencione

\* Repeated all down the page in the same hand.

† Underlined in MS.

‡ Sic MS.

§ Inserted above line with caret.

|| Iunior added, perhaps by another hand.

PLATE XIV

*mortuus*      provisum esse <3> et editum deo adiuvante inviolabiliter pro posse meo observare  
 ✓      consentio/Ideo ad <4> singulas ordinaciones artem nostram predictam concernentes,  
          manu mea propria <5> hic scripsi. iij<sup>o</sup>. die mensis Ianuarij Anno domini. 1553.  
          Annoque regni Regine Marie <6> prime Primo /~ /~  
    <7> Tempore\* Maunsell' et Pierson gardianorum\*

*mortuus*      <1> Et ego Iohannes Cogan' Ciuis et Scriptor litere Curialis Ciuitatis London' satis  
 Iohannes      sciens Iuramentum <2> quod modo prestiti longe fore vtilissimum, eaque intencione  
 Cogan† scr':/      provisum esse et editum deo adiuvante ‡ <3> inviolabiliter pro posse meo observare  
    consentio/Ideo ad singulas ordinaciones artem nostram predictam

\* to \* added in same hand as above.

† Signature in Italic hand.

‡ Penmark filling up line.



## PLATE XV

### COMMON PAPER, p. 117 (part)

**HANDS.** (i.) Exaggerated, large, rough current *Secretary*, with traces of the style of large *Free Hand* of the late fifteenth century.

(ii.) Small current *Secretary*.

(iii.) As (i.).

(iv.) Medium sloped *Secretary*.

**LETTER FORMS.** Note extra exaggeration of *f* in (i.), (iii.) and (iv.): spurred *a* and *q* in (ii.) and (iii.), line 2 (*Iuramentum quod*): highly current *h* in (i.): *L* in (iii.) and (iv.) (line 2, *London*), which may be compared with the same letter in Plate xiv. It is not certain, either here or in Plate xix, whether the surname in (iii.) should be spelled with *K* or *R*. Note the modern *A* in (ii.) and *M* in (iv.) and two forms of *S*.

**ABBREVIATIONS.** The very marked and flourishy final

turn-down should be noted in (ii.) (last words of lines 1 and 5): compare *supradict* in (iii.) line 6. Note abbreviation of final *s* in *prouis* in (ii.) line 3; also final *q* in *eaq* in (ii.) line 2 and use of ' for *er* in *Stauerton*: cp. *super* in (i.).

**PUNCTUATION.** Practically none.

**LANGUAGE.** Medial *v* is still doubtful: note in (iii.) that the formal writing of the name *Keuall* has *u* (in the *Italic Hand*) while the informal (in *Secretary*) has *v*.

**DECORATION.** A NOTARY'S MARK in something like traditional style. Note the two signatures in (iv.), one with **PARAPH** having an *Italic R*. Round *Italic* style paraph in (ii.). Note the unreadable initial *E* of (iii.).

### TRANSCRIPT

<p>✓ Tho Staverton § <i>mortuus</i></p>	<p>&lt;1&gt; mea propria hic Scripsi predicto xxix<sup>no</sup> die mensis Iunij Annis super scriptis* &lt;1&gt; Et ego Thomas Stauerton Ciuis et Scriptor litere Curialis Ciuitatis London' &lt;2&gt; satis sciens iuramentum quod modo prestiti fore perquam necessarium eq† eaque intencione &lt;3&gt; ordinatum esse et prouisum deo adiuuante inuolabiliter obseruare‡ pro viribus intendo &lt;4&gt; Ideoque ad singulas ordinaciones Artem nostram conce[r]nentes   manu mea propria hic &lt;5&gt; scripsi predicto xxix<sup>o</sup> Die Mensis Iunij Annis supradictis/.</p>
<p><i>mortuus</i> Georgius Kevall' ** Laus ‡ soli deo Georgius Keuall' ✓ Notarius publicus ‡</p>	<p>&lt;1&gt; Et ego Georgius Kevall' Ciuis et Scriptor litere Curialis &lt;2&gt; Ciuitatis London'. satis sciens Iuramentum quod modo prestiti fore per quam<sup>⊕</sup> &lt;3&gt; necessarium eaque intencione Provisum esse et editum deo adiuuante/†† &lt;4&gt; inuolabiliter obseruare pro viribus intendo. Ideoque ad singulas ordinaciones &lt;5&gt; Artem nostram predictam concernentes manu mea propria hic scripsi/†† &lt;6&gt; predicto xxix<sup>o</sup> die mensis Iunij Annis supradictis Apprenticius quondam &lt;7&gt; Christoferi Dowe et postea Edwardi Pottingar</p>
<p>Ricardus Mawcam' R Mawcam' §§ <i>mortuus</i> ✓</p>	<p>&lt;1&gt; Et ego Ricardus Mawcam Ciuis et Scriptor litere Curialis Ciuitatis &lt;2&gt; London' satis sciens Iuramentum quod modo prestiti fore perquam necessarium &lt;3&gt; eaque intencione ordinatum esse [et]    provisum deo adiuuante inuolabiliter obseruare pro viribus &lt;4&gt; intendo Ideoque ad singulas ordinaciones artem nostram p† predictam concernentes manu/†† &lt;5&gt; mea propria hic scripsi predicto vicesimo nono die mensis Iunij Annis vltimo &lt;6&gt; suprascriptis</p>
	<p>&lt;1&gt; Et ego Iohannes appulbie Ciuis et Scriptor Litere Curialis [.....]</p>

\* Scribe wrote first super scripto and then altered to super script': super is written sup<sup>r</sup>.

† Struck through.

‡ MS. obseruat'.

§ Final n produced to form a paraph.

|| MS omits r.

⊕ Two words in MS.

\*\* *Italic signature with paraph on right.*

†† This is merely a mark to fill up the line.

‡‡ to ‡‡ These words in *Italic* written under Notarial Mark.

§§ Paraph in the middle of the surname in the second signature.

||| Omitted in MS.

# PLATE XVI

COMMON PAPER, p. 124 (part)

**HANDS.** (i.), (ii.), (iii.) and (v.) are medium-size rough *Secretary* hands without much to distinguish one from another, except that (i.) is a little more current and (v.) a little less sloped than the rest. The capitals in all are typical and should be studied.

(iv.) is a pronounced small round *Legal* hand, to be compared with those in Plates xli (viii.) and xlii. Note particularly the exaggeration of long strokes and bows below the line, the backward slope and the narrowness and angularity of letters.

**LETTER FORMS** of (iv.) may be compared with Alphabet 18. The *r* with bow below the line (*scriptor*,

line 1), the current forms of *c* and *t*, the *g* and the *q* are all highly typical. Note modern *D* in *Decimo* in (ii.) line 6, etc.

**PUNCTUATION.** Note the brackets for (*deo volente*) in four cases. The plain virgula is still much used as a final period mark: it is also used to fill up the line in (v.).

**LANGUAGE.** Note the English Signature to (i.).

**SPECIAL NOTES.** The Signature to (i.) is half in *Italic* and half in *Secretary*. The **ARABIC NUMERALS**, current in (i.) and conformed to the *Legal* Style in (iv.), should be noted.

## TRANSCRIPT

Richard Gall' *	✓	<1> (Deo volente) inviolabiliter observare intendo, Ideoque ad singulas <2> ordinationes artem nostram predictam concernentes manu mea propria <3> hic subscripsi Decimo die Decembris Anno Domini 1566† <4> Annoque Regine Elizabethe Etc Nono/
mortuus Henricus Alyson' ⊕	✓	<1> Et ego Henricus Alyson Ciuis et Scriptor Litere Curialis Ciuitatis <2> London' satis sciens Iuramentum quod modo prestiti fore per‡ quam‡§ <3> necessariam   eaque intencione provisum esse et editum, Idem pro viribus (deo <4> volente) inviolabiliter observare intendo, Ideoque ad singulas ordinano** <5> ordinationes artem nostram predictam concernentes manu mea propria hic subscripsi <6> Dece** Decimo die Decembris Anno predicto/
mortuus G Astmer ††	✓	<1> Et ego Gregorius Astmer Ciuis et Scriptor Litere Curialis Ciuitatis <2> London' satis sciens Iuramentum quod modo prestiti fore per‡ quam‡§ necessariam   <3> eaque intencione prouisum esse et editum Idem pro viribus (Deo volente)§ <4> inviolabiliter obseruare intendo, Ideoque ad singulas ordinationes artem nostram <5> predictam concernentes manu mea propria hic subscripsi Decimo die <6> Decembris 1566† Annoque Elizabethe Regine etc' Nono
mortuus Robertus Maunsell' ‡‡	✓	<1> Et ego Robertus Maunsell' Ciuis et scriptor litere Curialis Ciuitatis london' satis sciens <2> iuramentum quod ego modo prestiti fore per‡ quam‡§ necessariam   eaque intencione prouisum esse <3> et editum Idem pro viribus (deo volente) inviolabiliter obseruare intendo Ideoque ad singulas <4> ordinationes artem nostram predictam concernentes manu mea propria hic subscripsi vicesimo <5> sexto die Augusti 1567. Annoque Elizabethe Regin   etc' nono/
Emanuell Maunsell §§	✓	<1> Et ego Emanuell Maunsell Civis et Scriptor litere Curialis Civitatis <2> london satis sciens Iuramentum quod ego modo prestiti fore per‡ quam‡§ necessariam   eaque <3> intencione provisum esse et editum Idem pro viribus deo volente inviolabiliter <4> observare intendo Ideoque ad singulas ordinationes artem nostram predictam/ <5> concernentes manu mea propria hic subscripsi vicesimo sexto die// <6> Augusti 1567 Annoque Elizabethe Regine etc' Nono/

\* Paraph between the two names, first of which is in *Italic* hand.

† The date underlined in MS.

‡ Two words in MS.

§ Pen flourish filling up the line. || Sic MS.

⊕ Paraph between the two names. \*\* Struck through.

†† Underline to this signature, ending in paraph on right.

‡‡ Underline to this signature.

§§ Underline to this signature, ending in paraph on right surrounded by date figures and letters E, M and H'.



# PLATE XVII

COMMON PAPER, p. 128 (part)

**HANDS.** These are all typical, fully-developed, current *Secretary* hands, especially (iii.): the size of the writing is definitely smaller: all long letters are sloped, the remainder being comparatively vertical. The pens are probably of much the same cutting as in previous plates but finer.

There are two *Italic Signatures*.

**LETTER FORMS.** The spurred *a* continues to appear (*ea* in (iii.) line 2). Other letters are of the typical forms seen in our Alphabets. *v* as medial is still partial in use.

**PUNCTUATION.** Note the appearance of the *colon* at the end of (iv.). In (ii.) the diagonal serves both as comma and final period mark.

**DECORATION.** Good paraps appear in all cases. (iv.) has the *Italic* fashion of paraps forming part of the letters of the signature and an older form below with initials in a *Secretary* hand.

**SPECIAL NOTES.** The ARABIC NUMERALS of the date in (ii.) and (iv.) are underlined. The lack of sequence in the dates seems to indicate irregularity in signing at this period.

## TRANSCRIPT

Henricus* Anthony  ✓	<1> Et ego Henricus Anthony Ciuis et Scriptor Litere Curialis <2> London' satis sciens Iuramentum quod modo prestiti fore perquam necessarium et <3> ea esse intencione provisum et editum/ Idem pro viribus (deo volente inviolabiliter† <4> observare intendo/ Igitur ad singulas ordinationes artem nostram predictam concernentes <5> manu mea propria hic subscripsi vicesimo‡ secundo die Iunij Anno Domini 1573 <6> Annoque Regni domine nostre Elizabeth§ Regine nunc Quinto decimo‡ decimo <7> quinto die Iulij 1577 Annoque Regni Domine nostre Elizabeth§ Regine nunc <8> Decimo nono/
Ionas* ffring/ Mortuus-/  ✓	<1> Et ego Ionas ffring Ciuis et scriptor litere Curialis London' satis sciens Iuramentum <2> quod modo prestiti fore perquam necessarium et ea esse intencione provisum et editum Idem pro <3> viribus deo volenti§ inviolabiliter† obseruare intendo. Igitur ad singulas ordinationes artem <4> nostram predictam concernentes manu mea propria hic subscripsi Decimo quinto Die Iulij/ <5> 1577  . Annoque Regni Domine nostre Elizabeth Regine nunc Decimo Nono/
R* Rogers/⊕  ✓	<1> Et ego Radulfus Rogers Ciuis et Scriptor litere Curialis London' satis sciens Iuramentum <2> quod modo prestiti fore perquam necessarium et ea esse intencione provisum et editum Idem pro viribus <3> (Deo volente) inviolabiliter observare intendo Igitur ad singulas ordinationes artem nostram predictam <4> concernentes manu mea propria hic p** subscripsi Vicesimo die** secundo die Iunij Anno <5> 1573 Annoque regni Domine nostre Elizabeth Regine nunc Quintodecimo  <1> Tempore Iohannis Norden' et <2> Thome Brende Gardianorum
Willelmus: Benedycke./†† W: B.  ✓	<1> Et ego Willelmus Benedyck' ciuis et scriptor litere curialis ciuitatis London'. satis sciens Iuramentum.‡‡ <2> quod modo prestiti fore perquam necessarium et ea esse intencione prouisum et editum idem pro viribus (deo volente) <3> inviolabiliter obseruare intendo. Igitur ad singulas ordinationes artem nostram predictam concernentes manu mea.‡‡ <4> propria hic subscripsi xxiiij <sup>to</sup> die Iunij: Anno domini 1575   Annoque Elizabeth regine etc' xvij <sup>o</sup> :/  <1> Et ego Andreas Turnour civis et scriptor litere curialis ciuitatis London' satis sciens Iuramentum quod modo

\* Paraph between the two names.

† Written inviolabiliter.

‡ to ‡ Struck through.

|| The date underlined.

⊕ The scribe began to write Rg. Signature in Italic hand.

§ Sic MS.

\*\* This word struck through in MS.

†† Signature in Italic hand: elaborate line, initials and paraps below it.

‡‡ Full stop used apparently to fill up line.

# PLATE XVIII.

COMMON PAPER, p. 140 (part)

**HANDS.** (i.), (ii.) and (iii.) are very current *Secretary* hands; (i.) and (ii.) being rather large and (iii.) of what is now the normal size.

(iv.) is in the style of a large, current *Italic* but nearly all the letter forms are *Secretary*.

(v.) is a comparatively neat, small, upright *Secretary*.

(iii.) has the signature in a current but well-made flourishy *Italic* in strong contrast to the same writer's *Secretary* hand.

**LETTER FORMS.** Those of (i.) and (iv.) deserve special study. Note, for example, the two forms (shewing different degrees of currency) of *h* in the two writings of *Charnock* in line 1 of (i.) and the extreme currency of *viribus* in line 3: and contrast in *Igitur* (line 4) the careful *g* with the very careless *r*.

The *f* of *filius* in (iii.) (line 1) and some other long strokes shew the extreme of exaggeration and slope. Note that most other letters in this hand are com-

paratively upright and contrast it with (iv.) and both of them with (v.).

**ABBREVIATIONS.** There is nothing very new, but note an abnormal *c'* in *apprentic'* ((ii.) line 1). The favourite abbreviated final *f* of this period is well shewn in *provis'* in line 3 of (iii.). There is little fresh in **PUNCTUATION** but note the colon and virgula concluding (v.) and a true comma in line 2 of (i.). In line 3 of (iii.) is what is meant for a pair of brackets.

**LANGUAGE.** Note the impossible Latin of the inexperienced (iv.) and on the other hand the diphthong in *Agricolae* (itself not a normal medieval-Latin word) in (v.). The last also goes wrong in syntax and has the form *Richardi*. (iii.) seems to have found difficulty in phraseology.

**SPECIAL NOTES.** In four of these entries the Scrivener mentions his father's name and in three his Master's. On the other hand carelessness in keeping the Register is very obvious.

## TRANSCRIPT

Edwardus <1> Ego Edwardus Charnock' filius Willelmi Charnock' Ciuis et Scriptor litere  
Charnocke\* <2> Curialis Ciuitatis London', satis scies† sciens Iuramentum quod nuper  
prestiti fore per‡ quam‡ <3> necessarium, et ea esse intencione provisum et  
editum. Idem pro viribus (Deo volente) <4> inviolabiliter observare intendo.  
Igitur ad singulas Ordinaciones Artem <5> predictam nostram concernentes,  
manu mea propria hic subscripsi —§

Ieremy <1> Et|| Ego Ieremy Spracklinge apprenticius Iohannes⊕ lagham admissus  
Spracklinge <2> sed non expertus in scientia./§

[Blank in MS.: see note on John Johnes below]

James ffryer

mortuus <1> Et ego Ricardus Spittull filius Ricardi Spittull Ciuis† et† Scriptoris†  
Richard defuncti\*\* nuper Apprenticius Willelmi Benedycke\*\* <2> literet† Curialis†  
Spittull.‡‡ Ciuitatis† London'†, satis sciens Iuramentum, quod nuper prestiti†† fore  
<3> per‡ quam‡ necessarium et ea esse intencione provisum et editum. Idem  
pro viribus (deo volente <4> inviolabiliter observare intendo: Igitur ad singulas  
ordinaciones Artem <5> predictam nostram conernentes⊕, manu mea propria  
hic subscripsi

Wyllm <1> et ego§§ Wyllm' Hall'mar fylis thome hallmar admissus <2> sed non  
Hallmar|||✓ expertus in scientia./|||

\* Line under signature.

† Struck through.

‡ Written as two words.  
§ A line between this entry and the next, probably added later.

|| Et inserted in margin.

\*\* to \*\* Inserted above the line.

⊕ Sic MS.

†† MS. apparently presist.

‡‡ Signature in Italic hand with paraps forming part of the letters.

§§ Two more letters struck through.

||| Rough paraph below name and flourish at end of the subscription.



PLATE XVIII

Iohannes†  
Barrett·/

Mortuus

✓

<1> Et ego quidem Iohannes Barrett filius Iohannis Barrett dum vixit de\*  
<2> Knottesforde in comitatu Cestrie Agricola, olim apprenticius Richardi  
Dunkyn Scriptoris <3> Litere curialis London, optime sciens Iuramentum  
quo memet nuper obstrinxi perquam necesse <4> fore eademque de causa  
provisum esse editumque: Idem quoad potero potero‡ pro viribus (auspicante  
<5> deo) mihi decretum est inviolabiliter observare:/ Ideoque singulis ordina-  
tionibus Artem <6> nostram predictam concernentibus seu tangentibus manu  
mea propria hic subscripsi:/

[Blank in MS.]

John  
Johnes§

\* Flourish filling up the line.

† Paraph between the two names.

‡ Struck through.

§ This name in the same hand as James ffryer above and presumably written in by the Clerk of the Company.

## PLATE XIX

COMMON PAPER, p. 284 (part)

**HANDS.** One only, writing headings in *Text* with a few *Bastard* forms and for the rest a medium-size, formal *Secretary* which is practically an *Engrossing Hand*, to be compared with Alphabet 8 and Figure 7 at page 59 above.

**LETTER FORMS.** Note the spurred *a* in some places and a similar thin diagonal stroke below the line introducing various letters in an initial position; e.g. *company and required* in line 15; also the typical very

short *p* and the straight thickened diagonal of *d* throughout. *u* and *v* are both still used medially. The numerous Capitals make an useful Alphabet.

**ABBREVIATIONS** are generally normal but note the curious *etc'* in lines 5 and 7. In **PUNCTUATION** we have some colons (lines 3 and 5) and numerous true commas.

**SPECIAL NOTE.** This is a contemporary copy from the records of the Court of Aldermen at the Guildhall.

### TRANSCRIPT

## Tempore Georgii Kevall

Magistri, Simonis Wrenche, et  
Willelmi Serche, Gardianorum :

Iovis duodecimo die Marcij, Anno xxxij<sup>o</sup>  
domine nostre Elizabeth Regine etc'/1589\*:/

<6> Harte Maior, Haywarde, Ramsey, Dixie, Barne, Bonde, Martyn, Allott, Webbe/ <7> Roe,  
Billingesley, Elkyn, Howse, Catcher, Offeley, Saltonstall, Mowseley, etc'/

<8> This daye the Maister and Wardens of the Company of the writers off:  
<9> the Courte litere§ of this Cittie, present in this Courte, made reporte vnto the  
same‡, <10> That where heretofore, they have att sondrie tymes, receaved preceptes,  
and‡ <11> Comaundementes, from this Courte, for prouision to be made by their  
company, for <12> Armor, Weapon, gunepowder, wheate, and other thinges, as-  
well for her Mat<sup>tes</sup> <13> service, as of this Cittie, And that towards the performaunce  
thereof, they haue <14> att sondrie tymes, called before them, divers of their  
bretheren, free of their‡ <15> company, and required them to contribute, rateable  
towards the saide prouision, <16> Whereof some have moste wilfully and con-  
temptuously, refused to performe‡, <17> And that some others refuse vpon Lawfull  
sommons, to appeare before them‡, <18> And others also, denye to paie their  
quarteridge, and other chardges and dueties <19> as of right they ought to paie/Yt  
is therfore, ordered, and decreed, this daye‡, <20> by this Courte, that if at any  
tyme hereafter, any member of the same‡ <21> company, shall refuse to yelde, to  
reasonable contribucion for the causes aforsaide, <22> or any other the like, or to  
appeare vpon lawfull warninge, hauing no‡ <23> reasonable excuses, to the Con-  
trary, or to paie their quarteridge, or other dueties, <24> That then it shalbe lawfull  
to and for the Mr and Wardens of the saide‡ <25> Company for the tyme being,  
to comytt euery suche person to warde, into one of <26> the Compters of this  
Citie, there to remayne, vntill he shall performe the‡ <27> same accordingly/  
Sebright/

\* The date underlined in MS.: etc' here and in line 7 written tce.<sup>a</sup>

† Colon used to fill up line: other lines ‡ have flourish, double diagonal etc. for same purpose.

§ MS. abbreviated as for Latin form.



# PLATE XX

COMMON PAPER, p. 145 (part)

**HANDS.** These are all typical *Secretary Hands* of the late sixteenth century. The most ordinary are (ii.), (iv.), (v.) and (vii.), which are current, with a slight slope to the small letters and a more or less pronounced one to the long strokes below the line; the last being exaggerated in the well-known manner in (v.). (iii.) is the less common but still not unusual upright, round, small *Secretary*; (iv.) being the link between this and the more current hands. In (i.), and to some extent (vi.), we see the influence of the current *Italic* style on a hand which is pure *Secretary* in its forms: note that it becomes at once larger. There is a trace of this style also in (vii.).

Note that the **SIGNATURE** of (i.) is *Italic* (pure except for a final *s*), but closely resembles the rest of the hand in general appearance. A similar remark may be made regarding (vi.). The other two *Italic* signatures

are formal. The signature of the upright hand (iii.) merges into a small *Legal*.

**LETTER FORMS.** *u* and *v* are still doubtful in use. Note particularly the forms of old letters in the most current hand, (ii.); specially the spurred *a*, final *e*, *h* and final *s*. Note also the heavy pen-pressure diagonals in (vi.): and the form of *r* in the first *mortuus*.

**PUNCTUATION** is as casual as ever. Note the use of full point for a comma-pause in (iii.), line 2.

**LANGUAGE.** In more than one the Latin is poor; e.g. *per quod* for *perquam*. Note that the signature in (vi.) is in the English form. Note also the two spellings of *Christopher* in (iv.).

**SPECIAL NOTE.** The Scrivener now normally mentions parentage and apprenticeship.

## TRANSCRIPT

<i>mortuus</i> ✓ Willelmus Dunce†	<1> Et ego Willelmus Dunce filius Willelmi Dunce nuper de Eastham in <2> comitatu Essex' yoman defuncti apprenticius ffrancisci Kydd ciuis et scriptoris <3> Litere Curialis Ciuitatis London satis sciens Iuramentum quod modo prestiti <4> fore per* quod* necesse et ea esse entencione* provisum et editum Idem viribus (<5> (Deo volente) inviolabiliter observare intendo Igitur ad singulas‡ <6> ordinaciones artem predictam nostram concernentes manu mea propria hic <7> subscripsi Vicesimo die Maij 1591§ Anno predicto <1> Et ego Ricardus Michell' filius Iohannis Michell' Ciuis et ministrelli London' apprenticius Edwardi Henson' <2> nuper Ciuis et scriptoris litere Curialis Ciuitatis London' defuncti satis sciens/ Iuramentum quod modo prestiti fore per* quod   <3> quam* necesse et ea esse intentione prouisum et editum/Idem viribus (deo volente) inviolabiliter obseruare/ <4> intendo Igitur ad singulas ordinaciones artem predictam nostram Concernentes manu mea propria hic subscripsi <5> vicesimo die Maij 1591 Anno predicto/ <1> Et ego Robertus Kesforthe filius Thome Kesforthe nuper de Kesforth hall in Comitatu Eboraci generosus apprenticius Roberti Maunsell Ciuis <2> et scriptoris litere Curialis Ciuitatis london' satis sciens Iuramentum. quod modo prestiti fore per* quod* necesse et ea esse intencione provisum et <3> editum Idem viribus (deo volente) inviolabiliter observare†† intendo Igitur ad singulasordinaciones artem predictam nostram concernentes <4> manu mea propria hic subscripsi vicesimo die Maij 1591 et anno predicto./ <1> Et ego Christoferus Holmes filius Georgij Holmes nuper de Barnardcastell in Comitatu Dunel' yomon defuncti apprenticius <2> Emanuelis Maunsell' Civis et scriptoris litere Curialis Ciuitatis London satis sciens Iuramentum quod modo prestiti fore <3> per* quod* necesse et ea esse intencione provisum et editum, Idem viribus (deo volente) inviolabiliter obseruare, Intendo <4> igitur ad singulas ordinaciones artem predictam nostram concernentes manu mea propria hic subscripsi die et <5> Anno supra-scriptis./
Ricardus Michell'⊕ ✓	
Robertus Kesforthe** ✓	
Christopherus Holmes‡‡ ✓	

\* Sic MS.

† Signature in *Italic Hand* with small *paraph* below.

‡ Flourish filling up line.

§ Date underlined in MS.

|| Struck through.

⊕ Signature ending in large *paraph*.

\*\* Signature in small *Legal Hand*.

†† The *b* altered from *s*.

‡‡ Signature in *Italic Hand*, with *paraph* at end apparently obliterating some letters previously written.

Willelmus Hix <i>mortuus</i>	<p>&lt;1&gt; Et ego Willelmus Hix filius Adami Hix de Tansor' in Comitatu Northton' yeoman' apprenticius Edwardi Henson &lt;2&gt; nuper Ciuis et Scriptoris Litere Curialis London' defuncti satis sciens Iuramentum quod modo prestiti &lt;3&gt; fore perquam necesse et ea esse intencione promissum* et editum Idem viribus (deo volente) inuolabiliter, &lt;4&gt; obseruare intendo Igitur ad singulas ordinaciones artem predictam nostram concernentes manu mea/ &lt;5&gt; propria hic subscripsi vicesimo die maij 1591 Anno tricesimo tercio supradicto</p> <p>✓</p>
<i>mortuus</i> Ioh'n Bentley†	<p>&lt;1&gt; Et ego Iohannes Bentley filius Henrici Bentley nuper de Bury Sancti Edmundi in Comitatu &lt;2&gt; Suff' Clothworker defuncti Apprenticius Petri Baker Ciuis et Scriptoris &lt;3&gt; Litere Curialis Ciuitatis London' satis sciens Iuramentum quod modo prestiti fore per.‡ &lt;4&gt; quam‡ necesse§ et ea esse intencione provisum et editum Idem viribus (deo volente) inuolabiliter &lt;5&gt; observare intendo Igitur ad singulas ordinaciones artem nostram predictam concernentes   &lt;6&gt; manu mea propria hic subscripsi die et Anno suprascriptis/</p> <p>✓</p>
Rogerus Wager⊕	<p>&lt;1&gt; Et ego Rogerus Wager filius Rogeri Wager Ciuis et Iremonger London defuncti apprenticius &lt;2&gt; Thome Shorte ciuis et scriptoris Litere curialis ciuitatis London satis sciens Iuramentum quod** per  ‡ &lt;3&gt; quam‡ necesse et ea esse intencione pro‡ visum‡ et editum Idem viribus (deo volente)   &lt;4&gt; inuolabiliter observare Intendo Igitur ad singulas ordinaciones artem predictam nostram &lt;5&gt; concernentes manu mea propria hic subscripsi Die et Anno suprascriptis*/</p> <p>✓</p>

\* *Sic MS.*

† *Signature in Italic Hand: under-line or paraph below.*

‡ *Two words in MS.*

§ *MS has apparently neuesse.*

|| *Flourish filling up line.*

⊕ *Signature in Italic Hand with paraph at end.*

\*\* *The writer apparently meant to delete quod, and has struck through the q.*



# PLATE XXI

COMMON PAPER, p. 218 (part)

**HANDS.** Here we have the final development of the *Secretary Hand*. (i.) and (v.) (the latter a rather crabbed hand) resemble earlier writings, though they are not of the smallest. But in the others (notably (ii.), an excellent example) we have the *Italic* slope given to all letters, short and long, the result being a highly current, medium-size round-hand, in which the forms of the letters are *Secretary*. Note the very slight difference in appearance between the signatures and the rest of the writing of (iii.). **SIGNATURES**, which are here given twice in each case, are all *Italic*, (i.) shewing good examples of paraps formed in the letters.

**LETTER FORMS.** Some *Italic* begin to be intermixed. Note the *E* of (i.) and (ii.): also *A* and three different forms of *q* in (ii.).

**PUNCTUATION and ABBREVIATION.** Note the colon used with suspensions in the signatures of (ii.) and (iv.). Other earlier uses continue, e.g. the use of the point with the diagonal. Abbreviations in general should be studied in (ii.), (iv.) and (v.).

**LANGUAGE.** The Latin of (ii.) is poor and his mistakes are followed by (iii.). On the other hand the less modern (v.) has the diphthong in *Thomæ* (line 1) and *præstiti* (line 3).

**DECORATION.** Traces of the old initial *E* are still to be seen in (iii.), (iv.) and (v.).

**SPECIAL NOTES.** (i.) joins the Company *iure redemptionis*. The page here shewn is the last of those giving Scriveners' signatures etc.

## TRANSCRIPT

Marke  
Bradley\*  
mortuus <1> Ego Marcus Bradley iure redemptionis admissus satis sciens iuramentum quod modo  
<2> prestiti fore perquam necessarium et ea esse intencione editum et provisum idem pro  
viribus (deo volente) <3> inviolabiliter observare intendo. Igitur ad singulas ordinationes  
artem nostram† scriptoriam concernentes manu <4> mea propria hic subscripsi Vicesimo  
quinto die Octobris 1627‡ <5> Marke Bradley\*

Tristram:  
Hill./|| <1> Ego Tristramus Hill nuper apprenticius Richardo Alis admissus artemque <2> scriptor§  
aliqualter§ callens quantum in me est omnes ordinationes§ que <3> huius sunt artis profiteor  
me observator§ Primo die Novembris <4> 1627 Annoque Regni Regis Caroli Anglie  
etc iijº./ — <5> Tristram. Hill./

Morgan  
Mathewe\*\* <1> Ego Morganus Mathewe nuper apprenticius Thome Powell admissus <2> artemque  
scriptos§ aliqualter§ callens quantum in me est omnes⊕ <3> ordinationes que huius sunt  
artes§ profiteor me observatorem Primo <4> die Novembris 1627‡ Annoque Regni Regis  
Caroli Anglie etc iijº./ <5> Morgan Mathewe\*\*

Antho:  
Best:‡‡ <1> Ego Anthonius Best nuper Apprenticius Roberto Morgan admissus artemque††  
<2> Scriptoris alliqualter§ callens quantum in me est omnes ordinationes que <3> huius sunt  
artis profiteor me observatorem. Nono die Ianuarij 1627‡. <4> Annoque Regni Regis  
Caroli etc Tercio./ Antho: Best:‡‡

Ricardus  
Hawes./‡‡ <1> Ego Ricardus Hawes filius Thomæ Hawes de Westhorpe in comitatu Suff' yeoman  
mortuus nuper Apprenticius Iohannis <2> May Civis et Scriptoris Civitatis London iam admissus  
Artisque predicte non penitus Ignarus satis sciens <3> Iuramentum quod modo præstiti  
perquam fore necessarium, omnes ordinationes eiusdem Artis quantum in me <4> est  
profeitor me observaturum Tricesimo primo die mensis Marcij Anno Regni Regis Caroli  
Quarto <5> Ricardus Hawes

\* Signature in *Italic Hand* with elaborate paraph forming part of lettering of each word.

† nostram written over another word.

‡ Date underlined in MS.

§ Sic MS.

|| Signature in *Italic Hand*: || slightly paraphed.

⊕ Dash filling up line.

\*\* Signatures in *Italic Hand*: under-line below the second.

†† Flourish filling up line.

‡‡ Signatures in *Italic*: slight under-line or paraph.

# PLATE XXII

(i.) EXCHEQUER, T.R., BOOKS (*E.* 36), 84 : p. 37 (part)

(ii.) CHANCERY, MISCELLANEA, 37/3/4 (top of last two pages)

**HANDS.** (i.) Large *Bastard Hand* with some text characteristics. The added notes in small *Bastard*, possibly all by the same hand.

(ii.) Medium-size, rough and fairly current *Bastard*, typical of the hands used in vernacular literary works. Note angularity and 'fly-away' characteristics.

**MATERIALS.** (i.) Parchment: (ii.) Paper.

**LETTER FORMS.** *i* is dotted in (i.) when used with *n*. (ii.) has the 3 form of *r* commonly. (ii.) uses both *u* and *v* medially in English. The *runes* *p* and *3* (for *3*) occur in both. In (ii.) *y* is dotted.

**PUNCTUATION.** (i.) uses the virgula, singly or doubly, without much care: and has the point, in some cases only, after numbers. (ii.) uses the point as a comma.

**PARAGRAPH MARKS** in (i.) are of the pure Capital *C* variety, as in *Text Hand*: with transitions to the small derivative mark like a superior *a* which is seen with the smaller added writings.

**ABBREVIATIONS.** Continuation of the last stroke upwards or downwards for a suspension mark is common in both; it appears in (i.) with *a*, *d*, *n*, *r*, *t*, etc. Both also have the superior *t* in *w<sup>t</sup>* for *with*. Note in (ii.) the use of <sup>9</sup> where *e* (for *-es*) would be more suitable (*kyng<sup>9</sup>*, line 2): also the semi-circular abbreviation mark with a point in it; and the hair-stroke as a turn-down suspension on *-t* (*Mercroft<sup>t</sup>*, line 2).

Note the modern symbol *lb* for pound weight (not money) in (i.).

**LANGUAGE.** (i.) English with Latin notes: (ii.) rough English. Note the spelling (e.g. on the second page of (ii.) *peple* in line 1, *pepull<sup>r</sup>* line 4 and double initial *s* (*sshulde*, line 1)).

**DECORATION.** (i.) has scarlet paragraph marks: note the ruling in (ii.).

**SPECIAL NOTES.** (i.) has been partially PRINTED in Palgrave's *Antient Kalendars...* II, p. 241, etc.: (ii.) in *Archaeologia*, XX, 419. See also for (ii.) the *Paston Letters* (ed. 1895), I, p. 327.

(ii.) has been damaged by water.

## TRANSCRIPT

(i)

¶\* v

¶\* xv ¶ <1> Also a pair basyns of sylver and ouergilt chaced w<sup>t</sup> double roses and <2> þe bursell' ys pounsed of kermerye weyng xx lb' and viij. vnces <3> ¶ extracta ‡ Willelmo Estfeld' militi pro denarios ab eo mutuatis xvi<sup>o</sup> die ffebruarii/Anno xix<sup>o</sup>/vt patet per indenturam etcetera/ <4> ¶ et postea vj<sup>o</sup> die ffebruarii Anno xx<sup>o</sup> dicti Regis/idem Willelmus Estfeld' restituit in Thesauro Regis iocalia predicta// <5> ¶ extracta ‡ Iohanni Merston' Armigero Custodi Iocalium Regis xxij<sup>o</sup> die Octobris/Anno xxij<sup>o</sup> dicti Regis vt <6> patet per indenturam dicti Iohannis etcetera ac virtute breuis de priuato sigillo/Thesaurario Anglie et <7> Camerariis directi remanentis inter mandata de termino sancti Michaelis dicto anno xxij<sup>o</sup>//

examinata†

examinata†

¶\* xvi ¶ <8> Also a grete Almes disshe of silver and ouergilt made in maner of <9> a Shippe fulle of men of Armes feyghtyng' vpon þe Shippe <10> syde Weyng in all' lxvij lb' and ix vnces/ of Troye/ <11> ¶ extracta et liberata domino Regi in Cameram suam per manus Iohannis Merston'/virtute breuis <12> de priuato sigillo Thesaurario Anglie et Camerariis de scaccario directi remanentis in hanaperio <13> de termino sancti Michaelis Anno xx<sup>o</sup> predicti domini Regis/et per indenturam dicti Iohannis <14> Merston' remanentem cum eisdem Thesaurario et Camerariis/de data xxij<sup>o</sup> die Decembris <15> dicto Anno xx<sup>o</sup>/ <16> ¶ Et postea xiiij die Marcij/Anno xxj<sup>o</sup> dicti Regis idem Iohannes Merston' restituit dictum Iocale <17> in Thesauro Regis vt patet per indenturam/ <18> ¶ extracta Iohanni Merston' Armigero Custodi Iocalium Regis xxij<sup>o</sup> die Octobris Anno xxij<sup>o</sup> dicti Regis virtute <19> breuis de priuato sigillo Thesaurario Anglie et Camerariis de scaccario directi remanentis inter mandata de termino sancti <20> Michaelis dicto Anno xxij<sup>o</sup>/et per indenturam dicti Iohannis Merston' etcetera/

The somme totall' of þe Weyzt of þe seyde basyns Almesdissh' and vessell' cometh to—ccxlj lb' vj vnces þe pris of euery lb' xxxij s' iiij d' Summa—iiij<sup>c</sup> ii li' x s'

\* Paragraph mark in scarlet in original.

† MS. ex<sup>a</sup>.

‡ MS. ext<sup>a</sup>.



PLATE XXII

(ii.)

<1> Starbrok' squyer. Malmer' Pagenton'. William Bote <2> lore yoman. Rogere Mercroft'. the Kyngus\* Messenger'. halyn' <3> the Kyngus\* porter'. Raufe Wylleby. And xxv. mo whych' <4> her' names be not' zet' knowen'. And of hem that' ben <5> slayn'. ben beryed' in seynt Albones xlviiiij. And at this <6> same tyme were hurt' lordes of Name. 'The Kyng'. <7> our' souereyne lord' in the necke with' an arowe. the <8> Duke of Buckyngham. wt an arowe in the vysage. the <9> lord' of Dudle wt an arowe in the vysage. the lord' <10> of Stafford'. in the hond' wt an arowe. the lord' of <11> Dorsette. sore hurt' that he myght' not<sub>3</sub> go. but he was <12> Caryede hom in a cart'. And Wenlok' knyght' in lyke <13> wyse in a carte sore hurt'. And other' diuerse knyghtes and

[Remainder of page omitted]

[following page]

<1> desyred' hem to cesse there peple. and that' ther' sshulde <2> no more harme be doon'. and they obeyde hys commaunde <3> ment'. and lote make a cry on the Kyngus\* name that' <4> al maner' of pepull'. sshulde cesse. and not<sub>3</sub> so hardy to stryke <5> ony stroke more. After' the proclamacyon' of the Crye. and <6> so cessed' the seyde Batayle. Deo gracias. and on the Morwe <7> the Kyng' and the seyde Duke wt other' Certeyn' lordes <8> come in to the Bysshoppus\* of london' and there kept they <9> resydens with Ioye and solempnyte. Concludyng' to <10> holde the parlement' at london' the ix day of Iulij. <11> next' comyng'. ♀

\* MS. has the abbreviation for us but probably es is meant.

## PLATE XXIII

CHANCERY WARRANTS, Ser. I (C. 81), 460/747: 565/11223 (part): 625/4211:  
675/512: 775/10503 (part): 855/4290

**HANDS.** Six letters under the Privy Seal illustrating the development from a small *Bastard Hand* ((i.) and (ii.) both of Richard II) by gradual change ((iii.) of 6 Henry IV and (iv.) of 1 Henry VI) to two typical small *Set Hands* of the fifteenth century ((v.) of 36 Henry VI and (vi.) of 15 Edward IV). The last shews also (in the heading) the *Chancery Hand*; and is itself a good example of the 'splayed' character in late fifteenth-century writing. (v.) shews a different style of the period. See Part I, page 55. Note specially the development of right-hand slope in the long strokes in (iv.), (v.) and (vi.).

**MATERIALS.** All parchment. In order to save space the blank parchment at top, bottom and sides has been omitted in nearly all cases.

**LETTER FORMS.** Some developments may be usefully followed through; for example:—*e* (contrast this in the various forms of *ffrance* in line 1 of (i.), (ii.), (v.) and (vi.)); *g* in *grace* (contrast (i.), (v.) and (vi.)); *h* (note the final turn to the right in *Grenewich* in (vi.) line 9); *m* and *n* (note the splayed appearance in (vi.)); *r* (contrast *ffrance* in all cases; and note use of the other

*r* form in *Seignur* etc. in (iii.)); *t* (increasing height above cross); *x* (increasing currency).

**ABBREVIATION.** Normal development as observed elsewhere: but note specially the hair-stroke turn-down suspension marks on final *t*, *d* etc. in (vi.).

**PUNCTUATION.** (i.) and (ii.) have very little but use a double point (. .). (iii.) has reversed semi-colon. (iv.) has a reversed comma in various sizes, loosely used: (v.) has point and *virgula*. Note flourishes filling up line in (ii.) and (iii.) and initial paragraph marks in (iv.), (v.) and (vi.).

**LANGUAGE.** (i.) to (iv.) French: *nre* in this has been extended *notre* but there is no evidence. (v.) is English. (vi.) All, with the *Chancery* note, in Latin.

**DECORATION.** Enlargement of first line letters in every case. Enlargement of whole word *Edwardus* and typical decorated *E* in (vi.); which shews also signature of clerk with **PARAPH**.

**SPECIAL NOTE.** The cuts seen in the parchment were made after the document was folded and the tongue thrust through them before the seal was put on (applied over tongue).

### TRANSCRIPT

(i.)

<1> ¶ Richard par la grace de dieu Roy.. Dengleterre et de ffrance et Seignur Dirlande.. A notre trescher et foial Richard Lescrop notre Chancellor saluz.. Nous volons de notre grace especiale et vous mandons que par notre brief afaire <2> desouz notre grant seel en due forme donez en mandement depar nous as Tresorer et Barons de notre Eschequer qils ne facent arcer ne compeller notre bien ame Raulyn Restwold a recevoir lordre de Chiualer einz ensurseent <3> et facent surseer outreement et facent relever les destresses si aucunes soient sur lui faites par celle cause.. Don' souz notre priue seel a notre Manoir de Shene le. xx. iour de May lan de notre regne second

(ii.)

<1> Richard par la grace de dieu Roy Dengleterre et de ffrance et Seignur Dirlande A lonurable piere en dieu notre treschier Cousin leuesque Dexcestre notre Chancellor..saluz\* Nous volons de notre grace especiale et† <2> vous mandons que veues les lettres patentes par queles nous grantasmes nadgares a notre ame seruant William Bisshop' trois deniers le iour a prendre pur terme de sa vie en notre Eschequer sicome en noz† <3> dites lettres patentes est contenuz plus au plain.. Si donez en mandement par notre brief de liberate afaire desouz notre grand' seal' en due forme as Tresorer et Chamberlains de notre dit Eschequer pur prestement† <4> paier au dit William ce que lui est due et aderere des dites trois deniers le iour enceo par force de noz lettres patentes auant dites [Don' souz notre priue seal a notre] Chastel de Wyndesore le [. . . . .]‡

\* Inserted above line.

† Small flourish filling up line.

‡ Remainder of this and part of last line cut off.



(iii.)

<1> Henri par la grace de dieu Roy Dengleterre et de ffraunce et Seignur Dirlande A lonurable piere en dieu notre trescher frere leuesque de Nicole notre Chaunceller. saluz Come de <2> notre grace especiale et pur le bon et greable seruice quel notre ame Esquier Thomas lache nous ad fait; lui eons grauntez loffice de Tronage et poisage des leins et\* quirs et de la† <3> laier des peaux lanuz et dautres pluseurs marchandises en port de notre ville de Kyngeston' sur hull' ensemblement ouec loffice de Gaugeour des vins en dit port A auoir <4> et occuper durante sa vie par lui ou par son depute sufficeant pur qi il vorra respoudre ouec les fees et profitz et autres commoditees as ditz offices duz et accustumez‡ <5> Vous mandons que sur ce facez faire lettres desouz notre grand seal en due forme.. Don' souz notre priue seal a Westm' le. xxj. iour de ffeuerer. lan de notre regne sisme

(iv.)

<1> ¶ Henri par la grace de dieu Roy Dengleterre et de ffrance et Seignur Dirlande, A lonurable piere en dieu leuesque de Duresme notre Chancellor, saluz, Come de notre <2> grace especiale de lauis et assent de notre conseil et pur le bon seruice que notre bien ame Ioh'n de Orell' ad fait a notre treshonure seignur et pere le Roy qi dieux assoill' <3> et a nous ferra en temps auenir, lui eons grantez loffice de notre Armurer deinz notre Tour de loundres A auoir et occuper le dit office tantcome nous plerra <4> ouesque vn garceon' desouz lui en mesme loffice/ preignant pur lui mesmes dousze deniers et pur le dit garceon' trois deniers le iour pur lour gages par <5> les mains du Gardein de notre grande Garderobe pur le temps esteant, Vous mandons que sur ce facez faire lettres desouz notre grand' seal en due forme, Don' <6> souz notre priue seal a Westm' le. xx. iour de ffeuerer,

(v.)

<1> ¶ Henry by the grace of god Kyng of Englande and of ffraunce and Lord of Irlande. To the Reuerent fader in god William Bysshop' of <2> Wynchestre oure Chancell'r/ greting/ We haue vnderstande by a lamentable complainte made vnto vs and oure Counsail by Peron' de <3> Mounferant late the wyf' of Bertrand' lorde Mountferant' of oure Duchie of Guyenne. the greet' and grevous povert that she hath' suffred' <4> sith' the losse of oure saide Duchie and yit daily doth' not hauyng' any thinge to susteigne herself with'/ Wherfore by consideracon' of the

(vi.)

<1> Memorandum quod nono die Ianuarij Anno regni regis Edwardi iiij<sup>ti</sup> subscripto istud breue liberatum fuit domino Cancellario Anglie apud Westmonasterium exequendum§

<2> ¶ Edwardus Dei gracia Rex Anglie et ffrancie et Dominus Hibernie Reuerendo in christo patri Thome Lincolniensi Episcopo Cancellario nostro <3> salutem. Vobis mandamus quod literas nostras patentis sub magno sigillo nostro in forma sequenti fieri faciatis. Rex Omnibus ad quos etc' <4> Salutem. Sciatis quod nos de gracia nostra speciali ac|| consideracione boni et gratuiti seruicij quod Dilectus seruiens noster Thomas paynter <5> vnus trompettorum nostrorum nobis impendit et impendit concessimus eidem Thome. Decem marcas. habendas et percipiendas annuatim a festo sancti <6> Michaelis Archangeli vltimo preterito pro termino vite sue per manus Thome de langley de censu foreste de Cornbury aut per manus tam <7> vicecomitis Comitatum Oxon' et Berk' quam aliorum firmariorum. Receptorum siue occupatorum eiusdem firme pro tempore existencium ad festa Pasche et sancti Michaelis <8> Archangeli per equales porciones. Aliquo statuto actu ordinacione prouisione siue restriccionem inde incontrarium facto siue ordinato non obstante <9> In cuius rei etc'. Date nostro sub priuato sigillo apud Grenewich' sexto Die mensis Ianuarij Anno Regni nostri quinto-decimo <10> Tilghman⊕

\* Inserted above line.

† Small erasure at end of line.

‡ Small flourish filling up line.

§ This clause added later in Chancery Hand.

|| Small erasure here covered with a flourish in MS.

⊕ Signature of Clerk with paraph.

# PLATE XXIV

- (i.) CHANCERY, MISCELLANEA, 37/2, f. 22 (part)  
(ii.) CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS, EARLY (C. 1) 15/84  
(iii.) and (iv.) CHANCERY, PARLIAMENTARY WRITS (C. 219), 16/2, Nos. 106 (part)  
and 102

**HANDS.** The first two, perhaps also the others, are of local origin. (i.) and (ii.) are apparently derived from bad models of *Bastard* very freely written. (iii.) and (iv.) are typical specimens of the small free writing of the late fifteenth century, with splayed effects particularly strong in (iii.) and right-hand slope in (iv.). See Part I, p. 56.

**MATERIALS.** (i.) is paper, the rest parchment.

**LETTER FORMS.** Note the use of 3 and y for ʒ and þ in (ii.).

**ABBREVIATION.** Very rough in all; the suspended final letters should be studied, especially in (ii.), where many appear to be quite meaningless. Note, however, in this the final *d* both with and without the mark. Superior letters becoming more common, es-

pecially in the English (ii.): note *y<sup>e</sup>* for *the* and *ʒo<sup>e</sup>* for *you* (meaningless superior letter).

**PUNCTUATION.** Practically none. There is a meaningless comma in (iv.) line 2, possibly due to an erasure, and another at end of line 4: (iii.) and (iv.) have initial paragraph marks and the same is used for each item in (i.).

**LANGUAGE.** (i.) Mixed Latin and English: (ii.) English with very curious spelling which is worth study (*q* for *w* etc.) and Latin *et* (line 5). (iii.) and (iv.) Latin.

**SPECIAL NOTES.** *Caret mark* in (ii.) line 8 both below the line and beside the inserted word. Note examples of *erasure* in (iii.) and (iv.) and the Indenture form of these Returns. (i.) is from the *Stonor Papers*: see C. L. Kingsford's edition, No. 55.

## TRANSCRIPT

(i.)

Hosbondr'\*

W Bottler'\*

Et soluti per	<1>	¶	Item die Sancte marie Magdalene in ij colersse	ij s' x d'
manus predictae* Alicie*	<2>	¶	Item in ij payr' of treyses	xv d'
	<3>	¶	Item in j cordde ffor trossyng' þe fysche	j d'
	<4>	¶	Item in expensis pro ij hominibus et ij equis	iiij d'

(ii.)

<1> To y<sup>e</sup> ryth' Wyrchipfull' and reuerent ffader' in god and† his gracious‡  
<2> lord' y<sup>e</sup> Archebyschop' of Canterbury Chaunceler' of Ingland'‡  
<3> Besekys. ʒou. mekely ʒour seruauant William Gudhall' y<sup>t</sup> war on' Alice Thorp' was  
seissit of a Mees in y<sup>e</sup> Toun <4> of Croton' in hir demen' as in fee simple and infeffet on'  
Iohn' Bull'. on' tryst/to infeffe hir' agayn' <5> hir h'rs and hir assign' at qwat tym' y<sup>t</sup> he  
war or§ his§ h'rs§ requirett be any of yam et hafter' y<sup>e</sup> said Alice sold' y<sup>e</sup> <6> said mees vn  
to on' Richard' Bull' and he requirett y<sup>e</sup> said Iohn' Bull' to be so ffeffett to his <7> be  
hoyf' and profit. and to infeff' hym' or his h'rs or his assign' qwen' y<sup>t</sup> he war requirett or§  
his§ h'rs§ be any of yam' <8> and hafter' y<sup>e</sup> said Richard sold' y<sup>e</sup> said' Mees vn to ʒour' said  
besecher' and y<sup>e</sup> said§ Iohn' Bull'. deit and. <9> y<sup>e</sup> said Richard' and ʒour' said besecher'  
hays hoftymes. requirett on' William Bull' son' and heir' of y<sup>e</sup> <10> said Iohn' to mak  
estat of y<sup>e</sup> said' Mees to ʒour' said' besecher' hafter' y<sup>t</sup> reson' and conciens wold' and he  
<11> vtterly refuse to y<sup>e</sup> gret hurt and hynderyng' of ʒour' said' besecher' wyt howyt ʒour'  
gracious help' Pleys <12> vn to ʒo<sup>n</sup>. gracious lord' to grant to grant|| to ʒour' said besecher'

\* Underlined in original.

† Tironian et is here extended and throughout.

‡ These two lines connected by a bracket.

§ Inserted above line with caret.

|| Sic MS.



awryt direct' to y<sup>e</sup> said William Bull' <13> to aper' be for 30<sup>n</sup> at certein' day and place  
to 30<sup>n</sup> to be alemett and to be examinett of y<sup>e</sup>s and for to do y<sup>t</sup> reson' <14> and conciens  
wold for godys lof and be way of charyte

[illegible]

(iii.)

<1> ¶\* Hec indentura facta inter strenuum virum Ricardum ffenys militem Vicecomitem  
 Sussex'. ex parte vna et Ricardum ffayrgo Ricardum Holbein' et Willelmum Berd'  
 Constabularios <2> burgi de lewes ex parte altera testatur quod Constabularii predicti  
 virtute cuiusdam warenti ex parte domini Regis per predictum Vicecomitem eis directi  
 eligi <3> fecerunt/duos Burgenses videlicet Iohannem Parker' et Iohannem† Suthwell'†  
 plenam potestatem habentes pro se et toto burgo predicto ad comparandum apud  
 <4> Redyng' in parlamento dicti domini Regis sexto die Marcij proximo futuro tunc  
 ibidem teneri ordinato ac ad faciendum et consenciendum hijs

(iv.)

<1> ¶ Presens indentura facta inter Ricardum ffenys Militē vicecomitem Sussex' ac  
 Iohannem Kyngeston' et Iohannem Duke Constabularios Burgi de Horsham testatur†  
 quod <2> Constabularii predicti vna cum assensu tocius Communitatis Burgi predicti  
 elegerunt Iohannem leventhorp' et Willelmum† Boureley† Burgenses pro Burgo pre-  
 dicto‡ plenam potestatem <3> habentes pro se et toto Burgo illo ad comparendum  
 apud Redyng' sexto die Marcij proximo futuro ad parliamentum domini Regis tunc  
 ibidem tenendum et ad faciendum et consenciendum <4> hijs que ibidem de consilio dicti  
 Regis contigerit ordinari In cuius rei testimonium partes predicte sigilla alternatim  
 apposuerunt Data penultimo ffebruarii anno dicti Domini, <5> Regis tricesimo primo

\* Paragraph mark preceded by flourish.

† *Written over erasure.*

‡ *Inserted above line with caret.*

# PLATE XXV

(i.) CHANCERY MISCELLANEA, 37/13 pp. 41 v. and 42

(ii.) *Ibid.* 37/4/7

(iii.) *Ibid.* 37/5/5

**HANDS.** All are typical rough *Free Hands* of the late fifteenth century. (i.) The deliberately small *Free Hand* with a slight tendency to right slope merging into a slightly larger and rougher hand on the second page: (ii.) and (iii.) rough derivatives from very bad local copies of *Bastard*.

**MATERIAL.** Paper.

**LETTER FORMS.** The hand of (i.) as it appears on the second page should be specially studied being an example of that worst type of script in which parts of individual letters, especially *m*, *n* and other short letters, almost disappear from extreme rapidity of writing: cp. below Plate xxviii. On the first page note the forms of *a* (*att*, line 2), *e* (*be*, line 3), *g* and *h* (*bowght*, line 2), *p* (*pype*, line 4). In (iii.) note the exaggerated sloping away to the left of *r* and *y* below the line and the most unusual form of *c* (*com to cobrok*, line 10): I have seen this rare form again in a document of 1565\*—a very curious instance of recurrence. A rough *p* appears in all three passages side by side with ordinary *th*.

**ABBREVIATIONS.** The turn-up or turn-down of a final stroke for suspension is seen commonly. Note that the writer of (iii.) is so accustomed to writing it on *r* that he does so in the middle of a word (*fer'st*, line 2). (ii.) has the half circle with dot (3, line 7). Note the abbreviation *p<sup>a</sup>* for *paid* in (i.) and the *li. s.* and *d* placed sometimes on, sometimes above, the line.

**PUNCTUATION.** Nil. Note the **BRACKETS** in (i.) and the **LONG DASHES** to fill up lines in (ii.) and (iii.).

**LANGUAGE.** English. The spelling is very sketchy, especially in (iii.) which is clearly the work of an illiterate person: note *hor* for *our*. A few Latin words appear in (i.): note *vt scupra*.

**SPECIAL NOTES.** (i.) is from the *Cely Papers* and (ii.) and (iii.) from the *Stonor Papers* but they have not been printed in the Historical Society's editions. The heading to each page of (i.) is commonly used in the *Cely* correspondence and something of the sort is common in early accounting: cp. Plate xxxiii (i.). The *ardit* ((i.) lines 8 and 11) is apparently a sixtieth part of the *franc* and equal to a penny.

## TRANSCRIPT

(i.)

Ih'u M<sup>l</sup> iiij<sup>c</sup> iiij<sup>xx</sup> vij †

Item bowght att bordeuys be speryng ffor me ij ton' and an' pype of'	} iiij <sup>xx†</sup> ffrankes
<5> wyne price‡. le ton' xxxij ffrankes summa	
Item ffor awereyge of an' ton xxxvj ardettes	} j fr' d'§
Item ffor howssyng	
<10> Item ffor Costuma of an' ton' iiij <sup>xx</sup> hartes summa	} iiij f' xx artes⊕

Summa—iiij<sup>xx</sup> v frankes

<15> Summa Resseyuyd of\*\* me\*\* } xlvij fr'  
be Iohn' speryng of me } xx ardes

\* S. P. Ireland, *Eliz.*, 12, p. 373.

† Another writing of the word *ffrankes* here obliterated.

‡ This word is apparently written *p<sup>ic</sup>* or *p<sup>is</sup>* throughout.

§ d' here stands for *dimidius*.

Ih'u M<sup>l</sup> iiij<sup>c</sup> iiij<sup>xx</sup> vij †

Item the xxiiij day of Augost ao†† vt scupra bowght per	} xxiiij <sup>li'</sup>	
<5> me of Har'y brazer' other' wys Callyd Har'y vavessar' vj mylstonys price le payr viij li' summa		
<10> ¶ Item p <sup>d</sup> hym' in' hond' an' ton' of wyne price		} viij <sup>li'</sup>
Item y most pay <15> hym' at myhell' mas next		

|| A letter obliterated, perhaps *p*.

⊕ Words marked for inclusion in line above.

\*\* Struck through.

†† Sic MS. for *anno*.



Item layd howght be speryng be Cawsse he hade not þ <sup>e</sup> mony of wort <20> denyton'†	{ xxxvij* f' xl ardetes‡	Item y most pay to hym' at Cryst <20> mas next as be my byll' apperyd Wher' of' I haue mad' hym' an' byll' of my hond‡	{ viij <sup>li</sup> '
Item the wyne was sowlde be speryng ffor	{ xiiij <sup>li</sup> ' iij s' iij <sup>d</sup> ' st'‡		{
<25> Item hyer' of an' vatt that speryng layd howght'	{ iij <sup>li</sup> ' xvij <sup>s</sup> ' vij d st'‡	<25> Item y most paytt to Iohn' stodell' spay nard at london' þ <sup>e</sup> x day of desemyr next	{
Item speryng browght <30> to me in Rede mony Rest dewe to me be Iohn' speryng	{ vij <sup>li</sup> ' xix <sup>s</sup> ' st' iij <sup>li</sup> ' vj s' viij <sup>d</sup> '	<30> next bothe pm <sup>tes</sup> summa xvj li‡ Item the viij day of Ienyver ao M' iij <sup>c</sup> iij <sup>xx</sup> vij I pay to persyvalle ffor <35> Iohn' todell' spaynard	{ xvj <sup>li</sup> '

(ii.)§

- <1> This bill' endented' mad' the xv day of Maij  
the yer' of reigne of Kyng<sup>ll</sup> þe iij<sup>th</sup> the xiiij  
wytnesseþ that Thomas Stonor' Esquyer'  
haiþe receyued of Alexaundr' Blakhall'  
<5> Coll' of þe renttes of Rycherfeld Pyppard'  
wt viij s' paid to ffrowin for vj weddur'  
Tegges and xj s' paid to Wyll' Taylyour for  
vj weddurs teggis<sup>⊕</sup> ————— viij li' xv d'

(iii.)

- <1> Item thes be the costes of Roger' and' of my  
Item of hor' hor's fer'st on caol brok  
Item for' — iijj hors maytt ————— v d'  
Item for' — ij mens maytt ————— ij d' ob'  
<5> Item hat london hor soper' ————— ij d'  
Item hon fer'yday on london  
Item hor' dayner' ————— ij d' ob'  
Item for' Royger' es dr'ynke ————— j d' ob'  
Item for' hors maytte on london ————— \*\* iij d'  
<10> Item hon þat vy com to cobrok  
for' — iijj hor's maytte ————— iijj d'  
Item for' Reger' and' for' me for' hor'  
dayner' ————— iijj d'  
Item hat maydenhed' for' al ————— ob'  
iij s' ix d'

\* ? *rectius* xxxvj; the sum is otherwise wrong.

† Apparently parts of a single name.

‡ Words marked for inclusion in line above.

§ Numbered 24 in modern pencilling.

|| Name omitted in MS. ⊕ Inserted above line.

\*\* Some other amount struck out.

# PLATE XXVI.

(i.) and (ii.) EXCHEQUER, K.R., ACCOUNTS (*E. 101*) 415/7, *m. 102, 103*  
 (iii.) *Ibid.* 415/10 f. 25 v. (part)

**HANDS.** Three late fifteenth-century medium-to-small *Set Hands*. (i.) and (ii.) shew signs of the *Secretary*, but all have a suggestion of the splayed effect and of thickness in the short strokes. Pen-pressure on the long strokes is seen particularly in (iii.). The cross-reference *lxvj* in (ii.) and (iii.) is in a *Bastard* hand.

**MATERIALS.** (i.) Paper. (ii.) and (iii.) Parchment, with paper over the seal in (ii.).

**LETTER FORMS.** Note the capital *Y* (for Saxon *ȝ*) in *Yeuen* in (ii.), line 6. (ii.) has also a good number of typical fifteenth-century forms: note e.g. the forms

of *r* in *grace* (line 1) and *tresourer* (line 2). Note also the very weak *p* in the marginal *pro* in (iii.), line 3.

**ABBREVIATION.** Note the use (common later) of **ELISION** in connection with *the* (*thandes*, (i.), line 2).

**PUNCTUATION.** Practically none: occasional full points.

**LANGUAGE.** (i.) and (ii.) English, (ii.) having the Latin *xxvij<sup>th</sup>* in line 7. (iii.) Latin: note the spelling *aput* in line 1.

**SPECIAL NOTES.** Initials of Henry VII on (ii.) and Signet applied through paper.

## TRANSCRIPT

(i.)

<1> To the King or souuerain lord'  
 <2> ffirst deliured' by Glawde Romboson yo<sup>r</sup> Cuteller. for yo<sup>r</sup> vse in thandes  
 <3> of Iohn' fflygh yoman of yo<sup>r</sup> Robes for the making of the barres to ————— } viij<sup>d</sup>'  
 <4> the girdell' of a Riding Sword' wt the boocle verynsshed' blak ————— }  
 <5> Item for the dressing of a woode knyf' and for a newe sheeth' ————— xvjd'  
 <6> Item for the newe blade of a bering sword' wt the gilting ————— }  
 <7> and for a newe scabard'. ————— } vi s' viij<sup>d</sup>'

(ii.)

HR'

<1> Henry by the grace of god King of england and of ffraunce and lord of Irland  
 To or trusty and right' welbeloued <2> Knight' and Counsaillor ser Robert litton  
 or vndertresourer of england and keper of or grete Warderobe greting <3> Where as  
 or seruauant Glawde or Cuteller hath deliured to or vse asmoch' stuff of his craft as  
 amounteth <4> to twenty shillinges eight' penys. like as by the bill' of parcelles herunto  
 annexed ye may see at large We <5> Wol and' charge you that ouerseing thesaid parcelles  
 ye doo make contentacion and payement therof as <6> reason is. wtout dilay And thies  
 or l'res shalbe yo<sup>r</sup> Waraunt and discharge in that behalf' Yeuen' <7> vndre or Signet at  
 or Manoir of Richemount the xxvij<sup>th</sup> day of Iuyne The xvij<sup>th</sup> yer' of or <8> Reigne.  
 <9> lxvj\* [signet applied  
 <10> examinatur\* through paper]

(iii.)

<1> Per Warrauntum datum apud Richemount xxvij<sup>o</sup>  
 <2> die Iunij Anno predicto pro Glawde Cuteller Regis  
 Pro Glawd' { <3> Solut' eidem Glawde pro diuersis parcellis artis sue } xx s' viij d'  
 Cutellario { <4> prout apparet per vnam billam de parcellis annexatam isto Warranto }  
 Regis { <5> Examinatur per Warrantum—lxvj\* Summa—xx s' viij d'. De noua empcione }

\* Added in a different hand. The number 3 in pencil is modern.



## PLATE XXVII

- (i.) LISLE PAPERS (*S.P.* 3), I, f. 34 v. (part)      (ii.) ANCIENT CORRESPONDENCE, 52/21 v.  
(iii.) to (viii.) STATE PAPERS, HENRY VIII (*S.P.* 1), 101, f. 8 v., 22 v., 44 v., 63 v.,  
79 v. and 137 v. (addresses only)

**HANDS.** (i.) A late fifteenth-century small *Free Hand*: signature in a large *Set* by a person unused to writing. (ii.) Typical rather large, late fifteenth-century, splayed *Set Hand*, with strong suggestion of *Bastard*: postscript in smaller *Free Hand*, apparently by the Duke who signs in a large rough hand of *Bastard* kind. (iii.) to (viii.) illustrate the different hands that might be found in a letter-bag of the period, all being actually of the same year. (iii.) *Bastard* with suggestion of *Legal* in the loops below the line. (iv.) Small, late fifteenth-century, current. (v.) *Bastard* with strong indications of *Secretary*. (vi.) Late fifteenth-century *Set*; also with *Secretary* suggestion. (vii.) Large formal *Italic* by a not very accustomed hand. (viii.) Small highly current late fifteenth-century style.

**MATERIALS.** All paper.

**LETTER FORMS.** Most have been noticed elsewhere. Note the double *ff* where certainly no capital is meant in (i.), line 3; (ii.) uses the 2 form of *r* in all positions; note its conjunction with *t* in *truely* (line 4); the Duke writes *st* apparently in mistake for *tt* (*seste*, line 10) and an old-fashioned *v* for either medial *u* or initial *w*

(*vristun*, line 12). (vi.) has the dotted *y*—another old fashion.

All the highly current forms in (i.) and (viii.) will repay study.

**ABBREVIATIONS.** The presence of more or less meaningless abbreviations in some and their absence in others is instructive (see transcripts): note the abbreviation of *bl* in *honorable* ((iii.) and (v.), line 1) and *h* in *highnes* (iii.), line 4). Some of the new superior abbreviations appear (e.g. *w<sup>t</sup>* for *with* in (i.)). The ampersand appears but only in the *Italic* writing of (vii.).

**PUNCTUATION.** (i.) uses occasional point and virgula, not very reliably. (ii.) has the combination of these both in middle and at end. Note the **BRACKET** to (iii.) and flourish at the end of (v.).

**LANGUAGE.** All English with some curious spelling. Note the spellings of *Secretary* and of *Cromwell*. For *chake* (=know), in (ii.) line 11, see Gairdner, *op. cit. inf.*, p. 253.

**SPECIAL NOTES.** Two signatures. Note that in photographing only a part of each of the documents has been shewn. (ii.) has been **PRINTED** in Gairdner, J., *Letters and Papers...Richard III and Henry VII*, I, p. 279.

### TRANSCRIPT

#### (i.)

<1> I haue good hope to establyshe bothe yo<sup>r</sup> affers and myne or I depart <2> and bryng yo<sup>r</sup> patent of annywite w<sup>t</sup> me/and also a <3> commyssion ffor the ffyers/I wyll assuridly do the best <4> that lyethe me therin and all' others/ as god best <5> know<sup>t</sup> who haue yo<sup>u</sup> my nowne good lorde in his <6> blessid' kyepyng. w<sup>t</sup> long lyf' and mucche hono<sup>r</sup>/and <7> send vs shortly good metyng/ffrom london the <8> xvj<sup>th</sup> Day of Novembre

<9> Yo<sup>res</sup> more them\* my nowne  
Honor<sup>t</sup> Lysle†

<10> M' Wynsor. is here but the armur' <11> is not yet/made/I do [*not*] sende you' <12> the mony becawse yo<sup>u</sup> commandyd' the <13> contrayre/I pray yo<sup>u</sup> sende me worde <14> by the ffyrst what mony I shall sende <15> yo<sup>u</sup>/

#### (ii.)

21‡ <1> I the said' Edmund' duc of Suffolk/promise and bynde me by <2> this my present writing vpon myn' honno<sup>r</sup> and faith <3> to god' of a true Cristen' prince/that I shal and wolle <4> faithfully and truely kepe and obserue the same in eche <5> point and article./like as I haue further auctorized' theym <6> in that behalue./In Witnesse Whereof. I the sayd' <7> Duke/haue sette my signemanuell and Seall'. to this presentes <8> and also vndrewritten the same w<sup>t</sup> myn own hand'. The <9> xxiiij. day of Ianuary. The yere of our' lord' god'. A <10> thowsand fyve

\* *Sic MS.*

† *In a different hand.*

‡ *A modern printed number.*

hundreth and' sex'./I\* seſte my hand' <11> to theſt yn tent that ale manner of mene ſale chake  
<12> that I vele parforvme theſt be fore vriſtyn and' <13> Also vat that the promies on my be  
havalſ/ <14> edmund Suffolke'

(iii.)

<1> To the right' honorab'le <2> Maſter Thomas Cromwell' <3> Secretary vnto the Kynges  
<4> Highnes this be delyuered'†

(iv.)

<1> To the right' Hon'able and <2> my Syngular good frynd <3> Maister Cromewell' Secretary  
<4> to the Kynges Hieghnes

(v.)

<1> To the Ryght Honorab'le <2> Maſter Secretarye./ <3> to the Kynges highnes./.

(vi.)

<1> To the Right' Wurſhipful <2> and my Syng'ler and' <3> Especiall good frende <4> Maſter  
Cromwell' <5> [S]†ecretary to the Kinges <6> Maieſty

(vii.)

<1> Too hys moſte hono <2> Rabul and ſynGular <3> Good maſtre M' tho <4> mas Cromwel  
Secre <5> tare unto the Keyng' <6> Grace

(viii.)

<1> To hys ryght Worſchipfull' and <2> Singuler' good' M' Thomas <3> Cromwell' ſqyer Chyeff'  
<4> Secretery to the Kinges hyghenes

\* From this point to the end is the ſignatory's own writing.

† Four lines bracketted on right.

‡ Flaw in MS. which has apparently been under water.



## PLATE XXVIII

STATE PAPERS, HENRY VIII (*S.P. 1*), 201, f. 159

**HAND.** This has been chosen as an example of the very rough *Free Hand* which though it has some forms (notably *h*) of later development recalls in size and general style the worst hands of the late fifteenth century: its badness consisting in the fact that many of the letters are only half-written. Similar hands will often be found in *Depositions*\*, presumably taken down as they were spoken.

**MATERIAL.** Paper.

**LETTER FORMS.** The result of extreme currency on form should be carefully studied in the case of such letters as *c*, *d*, *e*, *h*, *m* and *n*, *p*, *r* and *t*: note e.g. the words *considered* (line 2) and *there exhibited vnto* (line 3): final *e* is so slight that it is often difficult to decide whether it is there at all. Note the use of medial *v* and *u* indifferently; the double *ff* certainly not in-

tended for a capital in line 17; and the curious conjoined letters in (e.g.) *pleasors* (line 17), *to do* (line 18).

**ABBREVIATION.** There is comparatively little. There are one or two cases of superior letters. Contraction is not common save in a few definite cases (words ending in *-tion* and the syllable *con-*). Note what is apparently *yo* for *you*. Note the abbreviation, *ser* abbreviation followed by *r*, in *serrcheo<sup>rs</sup>* (line 8).

**PUNCTUATION.** The virgula is used occasionally without much effect and a comma also appears. Note, however, the round brackets in line 4.

**SPECIAL NOTES.** This is a good example of transcribing difficulties due to alterations in drafting. Note the *caret marks* (one reversed) in lines 9, 10, 20 and 26.

For this letter see *Calendar of Letters and Papers... Henry VIII*, xx, i, p. 409.

### TRANSCRIPT†

<1> After our right harty commendacions' These shalbe <2> to signifie vnto yo<sup>u</sup> that hauing considered the contynewe <3> of such griefes‡ as hath bene there exhibited vnto <4> yo<sup>u</sup> by themper<sup>rs</sup> Comissioners (wherof for o<sup>r</sup> better§ <5> informacion yo<sup>u</sup> sent vs in a scedule a certain abstract) <6> and lykewise conferred vppon the same both w<sup>t</sup> the <7> officers of the xchequer tooching the custume and subsidy <8> and also w<sup>t</sup> the custumers comptrollers and serrcheo<sup>rs</sup> <9> for such imposicions as they receyve, We cannot to|| be playn w<sup>t</sup> you|| perceyve <10> that the sommes⊕ receyved\*\* by the officers here other|| then for subsidy and custume|| haue taken <11> theyr begynnyng†† of any other grownde then of <12> the free‡‡ will of the gyvers./ and yet§§ haue§§ had contynuaunce tyme <13> out of any mans remembraunce now a lyve/||| as by <14> the billes put in vn§§ to vs by the said officers the copies wherof <15> yo<sup>u</sup> shall recyve herw<sup>t</sup> may appere more playnly vn§§ to yo<sup>u</sup> <16> [Nevertheles bycause that the Kinges Ma<sup>tie</sup> s *struck through*] And yet <17> fforasmoch the sayd officers do such pleasors to the sayd <18> straungers as they ar not bownd to do, and such as the⊕⊕ <19> sayd straungers cannot well forbear vndone but it wood <20> turne many tymes to theyr gret incommodite ther|| is no cause why they shuld complayn|| as for example <21> the merchant stranger§§ beyng bownd by the lawes of this Realme as <22> the Kinges subgettes be to gyve in a [wrytyng\* obligatory to *struck through*] <23> to† the customer [conteyning in english *struck through*] a bil of the contentes <24> of his merchandyse if he will haue one write it for hym <25> \* must pay for his paynes as reason is/and so the englishman <26> doth: If the m'r‡ of the ‡ shippe w<sup>ch</sup>§§ must be serrched or be§ passt at grauesend <27> [having *struck through*] commyng thither at mydnight and having a§§ fayre tyde and whether

\* cp. the two of which facsimiles are given in my article in *The Library*, June 1922.

† Modern pencil numeration at head of page xx. i. 829 and foliation 159 at foot. Flourish above first line.

‡ An *h* struck through.

§ best struck through.

|| to || inserted above line with caret.

⊕ The words other and besides the have been inserted above the line and then struck through.

\*\* inserted above taken, which is struck through.

†† here struck out.

‡‡ inserted above good which is struck through.

§§ inserted above line with caret.

||| but struck through.

⊕⊕ they with *y* struck through.

\* (line 22) The words in english have been inserted above this and then struck through and the words an english wrytyng inserted above them; these last being also in turn struck through.

† (line 23) to added in margin.

\* (line 25) *h* struck through.

‡ to ‡ (line 26) inserted above line. Some misplaced carets below this line have been struck through.

§ (line 26) corrected from *he*.

# PLATE XXIX

EXCHEQUER, L.R., MISCELLANEOUS BOOKS (*L.R.* 2), 190, f. 118 (part)

**HANDS.** The original is a rough *Bastard* of rather marked characteristics in the matter of penmanship. Possibly an obliquely-cut pen was used but with the angle going the wrong way. This peculiarity should be studied first in the large initial words (e.g. *Willelmus* at the beginning of the third entry), with their scimitar-shaped strokes in place of what should be straight, thick verticals in the *i*, *m* and *u*: they may then be followed into the smaller letters. Added to this are several later hands: it is difficult to say how many but there are probably (see Transcript) two chief hands; that of the first two sets of corrections being a *Free Hand* of the earlier sixteenth-century type, that of the third and fourth a highly current Elizabethan *Secretary*. Contrast the *Bastard* with the hands of Plates xxii and xxx: for the second hand compare Plate xxvii (i.) and for the current *Secretary* Plate xxxii (i.).

**MATERIAL.** Paper.

**ABBREVIATION.** Note the *ser* abbreviation for a simple abbreviated *s* (*sue* in left margin, line 10).

**PUNCTUATION** is, as usual, sparse. Note the two periods of double **BRACKETS** in the right margin; first the straight line with angular heads, then the rounded double bracket with **ARABIC NUMERALS** at line 10.

**LANGUAGE.** Latin. **DECORATION**, the enlarged words already noted.

**SPECIAL NOTES.** The Auditor's sums in dots.

This document is chosen as being one almost impossible to render in print. But from the transcript here given it should be possible for anyone who cares to take a large sheet of paper to reconstruct the original.

## TRANSCRIPT

[Original Draft and Corrections in Text]

Walton. super Thamisia.

<1>

- <2> Ricardus<sup>1</sup>. Poterton'<sup>1</sup> tenet per Copiam datam viij<sup>2</sup> die<sup>2</sup> Nouembris<sup>2</sup> —
- <3> anno Edwardi vj primo<sup>3</sup>. ij acras prati diuisim iacentes in Walton' meade \*
- <4> Vnde accidunt de herietto vj st<sup>6</sup> viij dt<sup>6</sup> et de ffine et reddit per annum
- <5> Ricardus. Wodclerk' tenet per Copiam datam xvij die Ianuarij
- <6> anno Henrici viij xxx<sup>mo</sup>. j tenementum et j virgatam terre in Burwod' et \*
- <7> Burygaston' in Walton' quondam vocata Knottes. vnde accidunt de herietto
- <8> et de ffine et reddit per annum
- <9> Willelmus<sup>7</sup>. a Lee<sup>7</sup> tenet per copiam datam xxv die maij anno
- <10> Edwardi vj primo. j Clausum iacens apud Burwod' in Walton' inter viam
- <11> Ducentem a Walton' vsque Coveham et Robettes lane. Vnam peciam terre
- <12> triangulatam extendentem a Turpy<sup>†</sup> asshe vsque dictum Clausum in longitudine
- <13> per predictam viam. Necnon j Clausum continens per estimacionem j acram terre. et
- <14> Dimidiam acram terre iacentem iuxta terram nuper Thome Grenetree vocatam \*

ij s iij d.

\* Flourish filling up line.

† Here and throughout s and d are abbreviated in the MS.

‡ Blot in MS. obscuring one or two letters.

[First Additions and Corrections]

<sup>1</sup> Struck through and Johannes Ellice Senior inserted above.

<sup>2</sup> Struck through and xvij<sup>mo</sup> die Iunij added above.

<sup>3</sup> Struck through and iijto added above.

<sup>4</sup> Struck through and ij s added above.

<sup>5</sup> Altered to ij s.

<sup>6</sup> Underlined, perhaps for expunction.

<sup>7</sup> to 7 Struck through and heredes dicti Willelmi added above.



[*Second Additions: in same hand as above:*  
[*in left margin*]

at line 2 modo Ioh[ann]es Ellice Iunior *added*.  
at line 3 Redditus costumarius ibidem. *added*.  
N.B. *This entry bracketted.*  
*Next two entries bracketted together.*

at line 5 [Ricardus *struck through in text and*] modo Tristramus *added*.  
at line 6 Redditus Custumarius tenen' in Harsham *added*.  
at line 9 [Heredes dicti Willelmi *struck through in text and*] modo  
Thomas Thorne in iure Agnetis lee vxoris sue nuper vxoris  
dicti Willelmi lee remanent inde Thome lee filio predicti  
Willelmi a lee spectan' / — *added*

[*Third Addition: in later hand:*  
[*in left margin*]

at line 13 Copia facta per Ricardum Hunt' Antonio Carlton' data.  
2 octobris. Anno 31 *Henrici viij<sup>ui</sup>* et dictus Anthonius sursum  
reddidit infrascripto Willelmo lee per Copiam infrascriptam,  
Willelmus lee mortuus Copia 2 Aprilis Anno 6 Elizabethhe  
Herietum vna vacca  
precij — xx<sup>s</sup>  
ffinis ——— vs

[*Fourth addition: possibly same hand as above:*  
[*being an added entry in blank space*  
[*below line 14.*]

<15> Thomas Dallye Iunior filius et heres Isabelle  
Woodclark. filie et  
<16> heres [sic MS.] Tristrami Woodclark et [sic MS.]  
tenet per Copiam datam xxv<sup>to</sup> die  
<17> Septembris Anno xvj Regine nunc Elizabethhe  
predictum tenementum  
<18> et vnum tenementum in Burwood'  
Berrygaston' quondam vocatum Knottes  
<19> per redditum — iij<sup>s</sup> iij d —  
ffrauncis Browne  
concordatur cum Rotulo

[*Other Additions*]

Above title on left: .|.:.| note of sum, probably by an Auditor  
In left margin: at line 3 mark +  
at line 8 letter E  
at line 9 large mark (unidentified); perhaps J.

In right margin: opposite each of first three entries examinatur; perhaps  
in hand of Francis Browne above.  
second and third entries bracketted and total 6s. 8d added,  
perhaps by the same.  
at line 2 letter M: at line 8 letter E as in left column.  
at line 7, opposite sum modo iij<sup>s</sup> viij d, subsequently struck  
through.

At lines 6 and 12 a small mark or tick, perhaps an auditor's check.  
Between lines 12 and 13 remains of an auditor's note in dots : . . :

# PLATE XXX

EXCHEQUER, K.R., MISC. BOOKS, Series I (*E. 164*), 31, f. 3 and 3<sup>d</sup> (part)

**HANDS.** Large *Text*; large *Bastard* with strong *Secretary* characteristics; Signature in *Italic*; Marginals in large *Bastard*; details of account in large, narrow upright *Secretary*.

**MATERIAL.** Parchment. Membrane has been turned back to shew part of the dorse.

**LETTER FORMS.** A good collection of capitals in the large heading is worth study: note the frequent use of a dot in these.

**PUNCTUATION.** Something between comma and point is used freely in the heading, but not very carefully.

**ABBREVIATION.** Note the superior letters and use of colon in the signature. The superior *a* of *quam* in line 2 is difficult. Note the use of the diphthong *æ* of classical Latin.

**DECORATION.** A very elaborate *S* in the heading is mostly omitted. Note the ornamental **BRACKETS** and the flourished ends of the ruled lines used to fill spaces.

## TRANSCRIPT

<1> Specificantur. et. continent[ur]. in. septuaginta. <2> septem, Cedulis, Indentatis, sequentibus, tam nomina et cognomina diuersarum personarum, quam eorum separalia feoda, annuitates, corrodia, et <3> penciones, eisdem pro termino vitæ vel annorum concessa, nuper in Curijs Scaccarij, et Ducatus Lancastrie de Thesauro <4> Regio soluta, ac imposterum per Clerum Vigore cuiusdam actus, Parliamenti, exoneranda et soluenda, Videlicet. a festo sancti <5> Michaelis Archangeli annis regnorum Philippi et Mariæ dei gratia Regis et Reginæ Angliæ, franciæ, Neapolis, Ierusalem, et Hiberniæ, <6> fidei Defensorum, Principum Hispaniarum, et Ciciæ, Archiducum, Austriæ, Ducum Mediolaniæ, Burgundiæ, et <7> Brabantia, Comitum Haspurgia, flandriæ, et Tirolis, Secundo et Tercio, prout in separalibus Comitatus <8> subsequentibus perticulariter apparet.

<9> Reg: Carlis polus leg\*

[Left-hand column omitted.]	Rochester nuper. Monasterium.	Annuitas	{ Edwardi White per Annum ——— lx s†.
		Penciones	{ Willelmi Chaunterburye per Annum C s. Roberti Bacon' per Annum ——— C s. Roberti Smythe per Annum ——— x li Willelmi Albon' per Annum ——— x li Nicholai Spellehurste alias Arnolde per Annum ——— xl s
[Left-hand column omitted.]	Sancti Augustini‡ nuper monasterium‡	Annuitas	{ Willelmi Coppyn per Annum ——— liii s. iiij d
			{ Thome Edmondes per Annum ——— vj li xiiij s iv d Johannis Snothe per Annum ——— C s. Edwardi Sawyer per Annum ——— C s. Georgij Amys per Annum ——— C s. Roberti White per Annum ——— vi li xiii s iiij d Willelmi Okenfeilde per Annum ——— viij li Willelmi Milles per Annum ——— C s

\* Signature apparently in the Cardinal's own hand.  
† The s, li and d are abbreviated throughout in MS.  
‡ Flourish filling up space in MS.



## PLATE XXXI

(i.) STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC, ELIZABETH (*S.P.* 12), 268 f. 139

(ii.) and (iii.) EXCHEQUER OF RECEIPT, AUDITOR'S PATENT BOOKS  
(*E.* 403), 2453, f. 205 (part)

**HANDS.** (i.) A small, very neat, round, upright *Secretary*, probably by a professional Scrivener.

(ii.) Small fine *Secretary* with rather more than ordinary slope on short letters (*Italic* influence) and very much exaggerated slope and pen-pressure on long ones. (iii.) is similar to (ii.) but finer and with very little pen-pressure. Note the exaggerated slope (in reverse direction) of *d* in both hands.

**MATERIALS.** Both paper.

**LETTER FORMS.** (i.) has the long initial stroke to *i*, *m*, *v* and other letters and a suspicion of the spurred *a*; and uses two forms of *r* and of *e* indifferently. (ii.) also has two forms of *e* and a very curious *r* with foot\* in *breue de priuato* (line 15). Both (i.) and (iii.), though in English, still use the initial small *v* for *u*.

**ABBREVIATIONS.** Note the use of colon for suspension in both (i.) (*Ho:* in title) and (ii.) (*paten:* line 13), though (iii.) is in Latin. Also the abbreviated long *s* in (iii.) (margin) and the *-es* abbreviation written on the line in (i.) (*Counselles*, line 4) and the use of superior letters.

**PUNCTUATION.** (i.) has colon, semi-colon, comma, round brackets, hyphen and virgula (at the end): punctuation here generally means something but is erratic.

**LANGUAGE.** (i.) and (ii.) English: (iii.) Latin. (i.) shews a spelling tolerably close to modern convention, but still retaining final *e* very often and a number of doubtful suspensions.

**DECORATION.** Enlarged initials in (i.) and single words in (ii.).

### TRANSCRIPT

(i)

<1> To the Right Ho: Sr Robert Cecill Knight Principall Secretarie to her Ma:<sup>tie</sup>  
<2> Chauncellor of the Duchie of Lanc': and one of her Ma:<sup>ties</sup> most ho: privy  
Counsell†

<3> We the Constables of the parish of St Clemt Danes in the Duchie of Lanc' and County of Midd', together with the Burgesses <4> there; whose names are vnderwritten doe certifie vnto your Ho: That according to the Counselles warrant and yo<sup>r</sup> ho: L<sup>res</sup> therew<sup>th</sup> <5> we did vppon ffriday night last betwene the howers of Eleaven and Twoe, by the direction of the Lo: Maior of London, serche all‡ <6> such victualing houses and other houses of lodging as we did knowe to be in our said precinct; and founde no people of misdemenor' <7> in any of them: Onely Three men we tooke in the street vppon suspition, whose names were Robert Berstowe, W<sup>m</sup> Ashton' <8> and Will'm Savell, whome the next mornyng by order from my Lo: Maior, we brought to the Sessions house in London' <9> before hym and other the Iustices there, who vppon examinacion had of them dismissed them, as we vnderstand. And <10> we doe further certifie your Ho: That one Thomas Berry one of the Messengers of the Court abused vs the said‡ <11> Constables for serching his house that night, althoughe he lodge Strangers as other doe and partly liveth by the‡ <12> same and in abuse and contempt of the Counselles warrant w<sup>ch</sup> we carried, he said that he knewe not by what <13> warrant we might dare to serche his house. And lastly we doe certifie to your Ho: that on Sonday night‡ <14> last, being the Tenth day of this Moneth one Mathew Peirson (the sonne of Iohn Pierson a Scrivener being a parishioner <15> of the same parish, in the libertie of Westm') a very dissolute youth and a

\* See Part I, pp. 62 and 79, as to this letter.

† Beside this heading modern numeration in pencil, 127 struck through and 68.

‡ A flourish here in MS. to fill up the line.

common night-walker did approbiously abuse <16> Moses Chaplen one of the said Constables in his watch betwene twelve and One in the night: and having recouered <17> his said ffathers house reviled the said Constable, and called hym Rogue, knave, and suche like Termes of reproche. <18> who being a youth of very vncivill and lewd lief in every respect. We humbly beseech that by your ho: aid he <19> may be suppressed, and further we cannot certifie. So most humbly taking our leave we pray God to\* <20> send your Ho: long lief and daily increase of happynes/This [*blank*] of September 1598†/

(ii.)

205‡

Alphonsus Lanyer  
vnus Musicorum  
Domine Regine  
cum feodo  
¶ xx d' per diem Et  
¶ xvj<sup>ii</sup> ij<sup>s</sup> vj<sup>d</sup> per  
Annum pro Libera-  
tura et durante vita  
sua soluend' ad iij<sup>or</sup>  
Anni Terminos  
equis porcionibus./

<1> Elizabetha etc Omnibus ad quos presentes Litere peruenerint Salutem:  
Sciatis quod nos de <2> gracia nostra speciali ac ex certa scientia et mero motu nostris in consideracione boni et fidelis seruicij quod Alphonsus <3> Lanyer in scientia siue arte musica nobis antehac impendit et durante vita sua impendere intendit dedimus <4> et concessimus ac per presentes pro nobis heredibus et successoribus nostris damus et concedimus eidem Alphonso <5> Lanyer vadia et feodum viginti denariorum per diem bone et Legalis monete Anglie prout Willelmus Damano <6> modo defunctus nuper habuit: Habenda et annuatim percipienda dicta // vadia siue feodum viginti denariorum <7> per diem vnacum sexdecem Libris duobus solidis et sex denariis per Annum pro Liberatura sua prefato <8> [Alfon *struck through*] Alphonso Lanyer durante vita sua naturali a tempore mortis predicti Willelmi Damano <9> de Thesauro nostro heredum et successorum nostrorum ad Receptam Scaccarij nostri Westm' heredum et successorum nostrorum <10> per manus Thesaurarij et Camerariorum nostrorum heredum et successorum nostrorum pro tempore existencium ad quatuor <11> Anni Terminos vsualiter, videlicet ad festa Natiuitatis sancti Iohannis Baptiste, Michaelis Archangeli, <12> Natalis Domini, et Annunciacionis beate Marie virginis per equales porciones soluenda: Eo quod <13> expressa mencio etc In cuius rei testimonium has Literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes Teste <14> me ipsa apud Westmonasterium vicesimo tercio die Martij anno regni nostri tricesimo quinto. <15> per breue de priuato Sigillo etc. Brende§

(iii.)

Dionisio Groghan'  
de Regno hibernie  
presbitero de An-  
nuitate suo ad

<1> Elizabeth' etc' To all' to whome theise present l'res patentes shall comme greetinge\* <2> Knowe ye that of our especiall' grace certayne knoweledge and mere mocion for <3> certayne consideracions vs specially movinge wee have gyven and graunted' and by theise <4> presentes for vs our heyres and Successors wee gyve and graunte to Dennys Groghan

\* A flourish in MS. to fill up the line.  
† The date underlined.

‡ Numeration in (apparently) contemporary figures.  
§ Paraph to this name.



## PLATE XXXII

- (i.) STATE PAPERS, FOREIGN, FRANCE (*S.P.* 78), 18, f. 69 v.  
(ii.) *Ibid.*, 19, f. 33 (part) (iii.) *Ibid.*, 16, f. 74 (part)

**HANDS.** (i.) Small, highly current, sloped *Secretary* with occasional *Italic* forms: long strokes exaggerated, but not so much so as sometimes occurs. (ii.) A similar hand but freer, larger and coarser and shewing more influence of the *Italic* in style though not in letter-form. The signature in a current *Italic*. (iii.) A hand of about the same size as (ii.) but more compact and not so free. *Cypher* passages consisting of Greek letters and some conventional symbols: the decipher written in above these in a current *Italic* with occasional traces of *Secretary* (e.g. in the *r* of *Poore*, line 3).

**MATERIALS.** All paper.

**LETTER FORMS.** (i.) Capitals are mainly *Italic* (*G* in line 1; *M* and *L*, line 2; *B*, line 3; *D*, line 8; *S*, line 10; and *P*, line 15); but note the *Secretary* form of *T*. Names tend to be written almost entirely in *Italic* but this is accommodated to the *Secretary* style. Spurred *a* occurs (lines 5 and 9); *v* is used medially, but also initially. All the forms of small letters as they appear in this very current writing are worth careful study: notably *e* and *g* (*revenge*, line 2; *nothing*, line 14); *h*; *p* (*vppon*, line 2); *r* made with the same motion as *e* (*Loreine*, line 2); *t* and *th* (*that*, line 2) and *y* (*ready*,

line 12). The medieval way of writing *satisfaction* (line 6) is noteworthy.

(ii.) Some of the currencies in this are untranscribable: *knowleg*, for example, in line 5, was probably meant to have a final *e*. Note forms of *a* and use of *v* in *greatefvll*.

**ABBREVIATIONS.** Note that suspension by production of the last limb of a final letter has now gone out: but the use of superior letters is common (as in *matye* in (ii.) line 1) and new up to date sigla, such as *D.* for *Duke* in (i.).

**PUNCTUATION.** (i.) uses the point, the point and virgula and the comma. (ii.) and (iii.) contain practically no punctuation.

**LANGUAGE** (English) and **DECORATION** call for little comment: but note unruly spelling.

**SPECIAL NOTES.** The *Cipher* has been referred to above and in the footnotes. Remark the **ARABIC NUMERALS** in (i.) and (ii.), with a curious current 8 in the latter.

(i.) is a copy of the original made in the Secretary's Office: (ii.) and (iii.) are apparently\* holograph, (iii.) being in the hand of Sir Edward Stafford.

### TRANSCRIPT

#### (i.)

<1> Theie make great levies [is *struck through*] in Germany, theare is hope, they <2> will revenge Mombeliard vppon Loreine, and that theie will thoroughly <3> attend to the succor of Bonne.  
<4> The Empero<sup>r</sup> hath sent to the princes of [Bonne *struck through*] Germany to commaund' <5> them not to stirre for the matter of Mombeliard, and that he will see <6> satisfaccion made to the vttermost, but the princes that be interested' <7> haue yet made noe awnsweare but levie still./  
<8> The D. of Lorreine hath sent to the Imperiall chamber, to excuse <9> himself and to offer satisfaccion, theie haue made him noe awnsweare.  
<10> Owt of Spaine theare is nothing of late comen to any but <11> to the Ambassador, he told a frind of mine yesterdaye that the <12> D. of Sidonia cowld not be ready till the xx<sup>th</sup> of this moneth to <13> depart from his howse to take the charge of the Armie, w<sup>ch</sup> <14> tarried for nothing but for his Arriuall./  
<15> Thus I committ yo<sup>r</sup> hono<sup>r</sup>. etc'. from Paris. xj. Martij: <16> 1587

#### (ii.)

<1> Her mat<sup>ye</sup> restethe mervelously well <2> satysfyied w<sup>t</sup> your servyce and is most <3> gracyously inclyned to doe for you. <4> You shall doe well to take occasyon <5> vppon knowleg receyved from me of <6> her well acceptyng of your servyce <7> to wryte a letter of thankes, conteyning <8> also somme other matter that you thinke <9> may be greatefvll vnto her.  
<10> And so in hast I commyt you to god <11> At the coorte the xxviiij<sup>th</sup> of Ianuary  
<12> 1588 yo<sup>r</sup> assvred frend <13> Fra: Walsyngham†

\* See the Record Office *Calendar* in each case.

† *Italic signature with paraph.*

(iii.)

<1> them farther name 54 often and 20 also, and hard JB\* <2> withall saye [thatt *struck through*] theese woordes w<sup>ch</sup> he vnderstoode verie <3> plainely wee maye perchance see this poore† prynces† <4> that hathe beene so longe in captyuyty‡ and ‡my‡ <5> sery‡ eere longe bee in as greatt greatnes§ as euer <6> she§ was§ and hard [Villeroy] ||awnswee againe thatt 20 was a <7> verye wyse Prynces⊕ thatt folowwed\*\* cownsel\*\* and <8> thatt had gouerned hetherto her§ affayres§ verye <9> wyselye and thatt he had nott seene yett her good for- <10> tune fayle her in anie thinge 16††

\* Monogram in MS. The numbers 54 and 20 stand for Mary Queen of Scots and Queen Elizabeth, and J. B. for Claude Pinard: see *Calendar*, p. 54.

† Cipher in MS. not reproduceable in type: decipher has been written over it Poore Princess which appears not to be literally accurate: compare others below.

‡ Cipher in MS. with decipher inserted captiuitye and misery.

§ Cipher in MS. with decipher inserted as given above.

|| Single cipher mark in MS. with decipher Vill written over.

⊕ Cipher in MS. with decipher inserted Princes.

\*\* Cipher in MS. with decipher followed cowncell.

†† Modern foliation in pencil.



## PLATE XXXIII

(i.) CHANCERY, FILES, OLD SERIES, 412 (part of one page)

(ii.) STATE PAPERS, FOREIGN. ARCHIVES (*S.P.* 105), 157, f. 66

**HANDS.** (i.) Highly current and free *Secretary* in the *Italic* style—i.e. with the small letters uniformly sloped but also with the exaggerated slope and length on the long ones: no pen-pressure, however.

(ii.) Apparently in four hands (excluding headings). The first three (lines 3 to 12) are all mixtures of *Secretary* and *Italic*, containing a few *Italic* forms only (mainly in capitals) but quite *Italic* in style. Very current but not so free as (i.) above. The last two lines in a stiff upright *Secretary* with one word inserted in *Italic*.

**MATERIAL.** Paper.

**LETTER FORMS.** Nothing unusual to note but the most current all worth study in (i.). Contrast the forms in (ii.) lines 9 and 10, apparently by the same hand: and the varying degrees of Italicism elsewhere. All the most advanced *Secretary* forms appear, e.g. the spurred *a* and the modern form of *Secretary* *r* in *currants* in lines 8 and 10 of (ii.): but *u* for medial *v* still appears.

**ABBREVIATIONS.** Something like the modern £ appears in (i.) but not in (ii.). Superior letters are common and some meaningless (*fo* in (i.) line 2 and *viz* in (i.) line 11)—a combination of old and new methods. Note also *thacco* (line 6), *pd* (line 7) and *mo* (line 11) without sign of abbreviation: also the

modern *fn*. In (ii.) note *s<sup>ber</sup>* (line 5): and in both free use of colon. *Impo*: in (ii.) is *Impositions*.

**PUNCTUATION.** Practically none: but colon and point in abbreviation and colon with figures.

**LANGUAGE.** English, but *Laus deo* (line 1) and *per* (line 14) survive in (i.) and in *Anno Domini* and *li s d* in (ii.). Note the medieval *Le* combined with *first* *Octob* in (i.).

**NUMERALS.** Arabic written in the style of the current hand, especially in (i.) where they are used in conjunction with Roman (lines 3 etc.).

**DECORATION.** Text heading in (ii.).

**SPECIAL NOTES.** These are early examples of modern book-keeping forms. The cross references on the left in (i.) are to the corresponding *Ledger* and in (ii.), in the two columns on the left of the money, first to the *Journal* and then to another folio of this book (the *Ledger*): the heading to the second of these columns is possibly *respice* and this may also be the extension of *R* in the date column of the first entry. There is a tick at each line through the ruling of the pence column in (ii.). The letters *OO* and *OE* in (i.) (lines 12 and 13) are private marks shewing cost or quality. (i.) is from the *Quarles Papers* and (ii.) from the books of the *Levant Company*.

TRANSCRIPT

(i.)

Laus deo in Middelbr: the 29 <sup>th</sup> Septembr 1600*					
<1>					
<2>	Money for my m <sup>r</sup> his proper acco oweth to Gobert Peetreson				
<3>	x s x d R'd of him in full of 51 : 10 <sup>s</sup> dewe the 10 <sup>th</sup> march laste L	—	10	10	
<4>	Also to Anthonie Hardwins xxxj <sup>li</sup> R'd of him in full of his debt				
<5>	dewe the 4 <sup>th</sup> Iuly ———— L	-31	—	—	
<6>	In <sup>o</sup> Rothermaker oweth to Money for thacco partall' ij C lj <sup>li</sup> xvij s				
<7>	vj d pd him in full of soe much dewe at Interest the				
<8>	28 <sup>th</sup> present ———— L	251	17	06	
<9>					
<10>	Nicholas Starke oweth to Cl' for thacco partall' C xxxj <sup>li</sup>				
<11>	for 4 Clo's sould him to paie at 6 mo vizt.				
<12>	1 fine Ermitte graye cost OO <sup>li</sup> at—L43 : 00 : —				
<13>	1 light sheepes cullo <sup>r</sup> of OE <sup>li</sup> at—L39 : 00 : —				
<14>	2 light skies ordinarie at 24 <sup>li</sup> : 10 <sup>s</sup> per Cl' L49 : 00 : —				
<15>	4 Clothes amount to ———— L131.00 : L	131	—	—	

(ii.)

66

Anno Domini 1619						
<1>						
<2>						
<3>	1620					
<4>	Iune					
<5>	8 <sup>ber</sup>					
<6>	1621 Aug <sup>t</sup>					
<7>						
<8>	ffebr.					
<9>	1623 Iuly.					
<10>	1625 Iulie.					
<11>	1626 Iune					
<12>						
<13>	1627 <sup>†</sup> : Iuly					
<14>	October					
<15>						

Dr						
Io <sup>r</sup>	r'	li'	s	d'		
4	87	7	13	4		
15	92	3	16	8		
29	—	1	—	—		
83	—	1	—	—		
47	—	3	—	—		
68	116	—	12	9		
110	—	—	07	5		
171	140	01	11	8		
202	—	02	8	—		
203	—	01	17	—		
237	169	01	—	—		
243	157	05	8	—		
==		29	14	28		

\* The date underlined.  
† Dragon written over erasure.  
‡ Apparently corrected from 1626.  
§ Sic MS.



# PLATE XXXIV

- (i.) STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC, CHARLES I (*S.P.* 16), 117, f. 143 v.  
(ii.) *Ibid.*, f. 174 (part)

**HANDS.** (i.) Small, free, sloped, *Secretary Hand* with occasional *Italic* capitals and occasional small letters; and *Italic* insertions with occasional *Secretary* forms in them. The *Secretary* hand has some of the descenders very short and with heavy pen-pressure, which occurs also in diagonals of *d*.

(ii.) Current round-hand *Secretary* with some *Italic* forms.

**MATERIAL.** Paper.

**LETTER FORMS.** (i.) This should be compared with other *Free* hands (Plates xxviii, xxix, xxxii (i.) and (ii.)) and with plain *Secretary* hands (Plates xvii, xx, xxxi). The form taken under extreme currency by such letters as *a*, *c*, *e*, *g*, *h*, *m* and *n*, *o* and *r* should be carefully noted: contrast, for mixture of *Italic* and *Secretary*, *deputy* (line 25) and *shipp* (line 26). Note diphthong in *Cæsar* (line 18), medial *i* in *adiourne* (line 20) and use of *u* and *v* in *euery* and *vppon* (lines 21, 22).

(ii.) This typical latest form of *Secretary* should be examined for comparative presence of *Italic* and

*Secretary* forms: see Alphabets 10 and 11 (from Cocker) and Plate xxi.

**ABBREVIATIONS.** (i.) Note some old forms (*euery*, line 21) mixed with a very large number of the new superior letters (see transcript). Note particularly the modification (common here and elsewhere) of the sigma form of *s* apparently meaning *-es* (*shippes*, line 5).

**PUNCTUATION.** (i.) The point with virgula is still being used (as also in (ii.))—in some places two points to one virgula. Also colon, semicolon, comma and brackets.

**LANGUAGE.** English. Note the still uncertain spelling (e.g. *Navy*, *Navye* in (ii.) lines 6 and 7). Latin is retained in the dates in (i.).

**DECORATION.** Flourished initial and first word enlarged in (ii.).

**SPECIAL NOTES.** (i.) is from the earliest Minutes of the Board of Admiralty and in the hand of Sir Edward Nicholas. (ii.) gives forms of oath for the Treasurer, Controller and Surveyor of the Navy.

## TRANSCRIPT

(i.)

<1> 2<sup>o</sup>. Decembris. 1628.

<2> Whitehall./

<3>

<4>

<5> I're to Mr Edisbury signifying what fier shippes had rec. <6> imprest from\* the E†: of Linsey in parte of their pay./ <7> Rabnet appointed to goe‡ Mr in ye Assuraunce../ <8> I're to Mr Edisbury to allow pay and victualls for 20. men <9> a peece in the-Allexander, Seaventure and ones other shipp <10> for a fortnight to bring them from|| portsmouth to <11> London, but to pay off presently and discharge all§ the rest <12> of their Cupplem<sup>tes</sup> of men./

<13> 6<sup>o</sup>. Decembris. 1628

<14> Whitehall

<15>

<16>

<17> A draught of ye Com' of appeale directed to all yeir <18> Lo:<sup>pps</sup> and to Sr Iul: Cæsar read and approved of: only yeir <19> Lo:<sup>pps</sup> caused a Clause to be added that it should continue <20> in force albeit they should not adiourne it./

<21> Ordered that their L<sup>pps</sup> should euery. one of them <22> bring in [att *struck through*] vppon Satterday next proposicions for a <23> garde of shippes to be constantly maynteyned for ye <24> Narrow Seas./ <25> Capt. Tinker (ye Marshall of ye Ad<sup>ties</sup> deputy) is commanded <26> to see whether his⊕ Mat<sup>es</sup> shipp ye Adventure be gone <27> for Luckbstat, or if he finde her in ye river he is to bring <28> the Capt. and Master of her by force to their lo<sup>pps</sup> who <29> will displace and punishe them for their Neglect./

<30>

Capt.

\* Inserted above line with caret: by struck through. † Written over Lo. ‡ g corrected from another letter.

§ Inserted above line with caret. || from written over for. ⊕ the struck through: his inserted above.

(ii.)

*[Left hand part of page only shewn in facsimile]*

<1> You shall sweare th [...] <2> in yo<sup>r</sup> place and Office [...] <3> to yo<sup>r</sup> best skill and exp [...] <4> advantage and good of [...] <5> of any of his Ma<sup>tes</sup> [...] <6> Navy, but according [...] <7> Navye, and that (as in [...] <8> manner of abuses, o [...] <9> Soe helpe yo<sup>u</sup> God [...]

<10> You shall sweare [...] <11> Mat<sup>y</sup> in yo<sup>r</sup> place [...] <12> Navy according to yo [...] <13> faithfully for the [...] <14> service, and shall doe [...] <15> Victualls vpon the [...] <16> Victualler, and duly [...] <17> as in yo<sup>u</sup> lyeth) yo<sup>u</sup> [...] <18> fraude to his Ma<sup>tie</sup> [...] <19> God./.

<20> You shall sweare th [...] <21> Mat<sup>y</sup> in yo<sup>r</sup> place of [...] <22> to yo<sup>r</sup> best skill and exp [...] <23> most advantage of [...] <24> best Endeavor to se [...] <25> the stores deliuered' by [...] <26> serving in his Ma<sup>t</sup> [...] <27> the end' of every servi [...] <28> stores, and duely charg [...] <29> that as much as in [...] <30> of abuses or fraud' [...] <31> Soe helpe yo<sup>u</sup> Go [...]



# PLATE XXXV

CHANCERY FILES, SERIES H, 21/7; 21/8; 21/10; 34/68; 52/7; 56/12; 62/3  
[part only of each except (vii.)]

[NOTE. By an error Nos. vi. and vii. have been transposed in photographing:  
(vi.) is of Edward IV and (vii) of Henry VI.]

**HANDS.** A series to illustrate the evolution of the *Chancery Set Hand* (see Part I). (i.) and (ii.) (of Edward III and Richard II), *Bastard* with a touch of *Text*, especially in the second: note the obtuse angle at head and foot of short strokes: (iii.) Pure *Bastard* (Richard II): (iv.) Small *Bastard* (also Richard II). (v.), (vi.) and (vii.) (Henry IV, Henry VI and Edward IV) *Bastard* changing to *Chancery*. Note shortening of descenders, increased neatness and compactness and regular verticality of all strokes.

**MATERIALS.** Parchment. In photographing a little of right and left margin has been cut off except in (vii.).

**LETTER FORMS** are all at present of a normal *Bastard* kind but note the medial *v* in *Rivinez* in (iv.).

**ABBREVIATIONS.** Usual. **PUNCTUATION.** Also usual so far as it goes. (ii.) has apparently none and in (vi.) comma and full stop seem to be interchangeable. Note the *paragraph mark* before the signature in (vii.).

**LANGUAGE.** All Latin. **DECORATION.** By enlargement to tops of letters in first line carried so far that the *-er* abbreviation has it in (ii.). (i.) and (ii.) have initials recalling style of illuminators: that of (vi.) is in the developed fifteenth-century method.

**SPECIAL NOTES.** This class is composed of original *Letters Patent* either in draft or returned for cancellation: the angular cuts seen in the reproduction are marks of Cancellation. The word *dampnatur* may also be seen on (i.) and (ii.). (vii.) shews the root of the seal-tongue, which has been torn off.

## TRANSCRIPT

dampnatur\*

(i.)

<1> Edwardus dei gracia Rex Anglie et ffrancie et Dominus Hibernie. Omnibus ad quos presentes litere peruenerint; salutem Sciatis <2> quod de gracia nostra speciali et pro bono seruicio quod dilectus et fidelis noster Guychardus Dangle nobis impendit et impendet <3> infuturum et precipue consideracione perdicionis quam habuit de terris suis in partibus Aquitanie captis et occupatis occasione guerre

dampnatur\*

(ii.)

<1> Ricardus dei gracia Rex Anglie et ffrancie et Dominus Hibernie Omnibus ad quos presentes litere peruenerint salutem Sciatis quod de gracia nostra <2> speciali et pro bonis et gratuitis seruiciis que dilectus et fidelis noster Guichardus Dangle quem Comitem Huntynghdon' iam prefecimus <3> tam Cariss[imi]s† dominis nostris Edwardo nuper Regi Anglie auo nostro et Edwardo nuper Principi Wallie patri nostro quam nobis impendit et <4> nobis impendet infuturum concessimus eidem Guichardo ad finem quod ipse dictum statum Comitis honorificencius manutenere <5> possit Mille marcas sterlingorum percipiendas singulis annis ad scaccarium nostrum ad terminos sancti Michaelis et Pasche per equales porciones

(iii.)

<1> opus nostrum rectas prisas nostras de falconibus/Austircis/Sacris/sacrettis/laueris/lauerettis et gerfaucibus venalibus <2> per totum regnum nostrum Anglie per se ipsum necnon per deputatos suos competentes qui ad hoc ad nominacionem suam

(iv.)

<1> Ricardus dei gracia Rex Anglie et ffrancie et Dominus Hibernie Omnibus ad quos presentes litere peruenerint; salutem Sciatis quod cum nuper per literas nostras patentes‡ <2> concessissemus

\* Added later in another hand.

† Hole made by filing string at this point.

‡ Flourish filling up line.

dilecto et fideli Militi nostro Nicholao Rivinez viginti libras percipiendas singulis annis durante vita sua per manus vicecomitum nostrorum Ciuitatis nostre london' <3> prout in literis nostris predictis plenius continetur idemque Nicholaus iam in voluntate existat quod dilectus et fidelis Consanguineus noster Thomas de Percy Comes Wygornie <4> easdem viginti libras ex concessione nostra habere possit Nos de gracia nostra speciali et pro eo quod dictus Nicholaus dictas literas nostras in Cancellaria nostra restituit

(v.)

<1> Henricus dei gracia Rex Anglie et ffrancie et Dominus Hibernie Omnibus ad quos presentes litere peruenerint, salutem Sciatis quod cum dilectus seruiens noster Adam <2> Colton' habens ex concessione nostra triginta et quatuor libras vndecim solidos et tres denarios percipiendos annuatim pro termino vite sue ad scaccarium nostrum ad\* <3> terminos Pasche et sancti Michaelis per equales porciones, prout in literis nostris patentibus inde confectis plenius continetur in voluntate existat dimittendi statum <4> quem habet in annuitate† predicta et easdem literas prefato Ade sic factas sursum-reddendi ad finem quod dilectus Armiger noster Ricardus Crescy seruiens aule nostre

(vi.)

<1> Edwardus dei gracia Rex Anglie et ffrancie et Dominus Hibernie Omnibus ad quos presentes litere peruenerint; salutem Sciatis quod nos <2> bonum seruicium nobis per dilectum seruientem nostrum Iohannem ffogge Armigerum de Comitatu nostro Kancie impensum. considerantes de gracia nostra speciali concessimus ei\* <3> custodiam Castri nostri de Rouchestre in Comitatu predicto, Habendam et occupandam per se vel sufficientem deputatum suum pro termino vite sue cum omnibus <4> redditibus amerciamentis proficuis et commoditatibus eidem Castro aliquo modo pertinentibus siue spectantibus absque aliquo compoto seu aliquo alio nobis <5> inde reddendo, eo quod expressa mencio de vero valore ~~‡ custodie reddituum amerciamentorum proficuum et commoditatum predictorum in presentibus minime

(vii.)

<1> Henricus dei gracia Rex† Anglie et ffrancie et Dominus Hibernie Omnibus ad quos presentes litere peruenerint, salutem Sciatis quod de auisamento et assensu consilij <2> nostri et consideratione magne expectationis et boni seruicij que dilectus Armiger noster Thomas Boulde habuit et indies circa corpus nostrum habet, concessimus ei quinquaginta <3> marcas percipiendas annuatim quamdiu nobis placuerit ad Receptam scaccarij nostri ad terminos Pasche et sancti Michaelis per equales porciones In cuius rei testimonium has <4> literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes Teste me ipso apud Westmonasterium secundo die ffebruarij Anno regni nostri septimo. per § breue de priuato sigillo§ .. Sturgeon'

\* Flourish filling up line.

‡ Flourish filling up space of an erasure.

† Hole made by filing string at this point.

§ to § in smaller hand.



## PLATE XXXVI

- (i.) CHANCERY, SCOTCH ROLLS (C. 71), 105, m. 2 (part)      (ii.) *Ibid.* 112, m. 3 (part)  
 (iii.) CHANCERY, PARLIAMENT ROLLS (C. 65), 142, m. 30 (part of No. 28)

**HANDS.** Development of *Chancery Set Hand*, continued from Plate xxxv. In (i.) it is not quite complete: in (ii.) complete but the hand still rough: in (iii.) the finished product. (iii.) has also a marginal in *Chancery Hand* of a later date.

**MATERIALS.** Parchment.

**LETTER FORMS.** May be seen in Alphabets 12-14. Note, however, particularly in (iii.) the specially typical *B, N, R, S, T* and, in the small letters, *a, b, e* (final), *g, p, r, s* (final), *v, w* and *y*. The angle in the back of such letters as *v* is still seen and the attempt to get roundness by a wave in the first limb of long *r* is noticeable. Note also the letters *m, n* and *u* with straight verticals hardly joined by any diagonal.

**ABBREVIATIONS.** The forms of these are the old. Note, however, particularly in (i.) the abbreviated *D* for *De* (line 1), the hair-strokes on final *d* etc. for suspension

and the marks of ordinary abbreviation—a knot in (i.) and (ii.) and a plain curve in (iii.).

**PUNCTUATION.** Both (i.) and (ii.) retain the mark ./ (ii.) has a plain point which certainly does not act as full stop. In (iii.) the quotation (line 3) is introduced by a flourish, ancestor of the inverted commas.

**LANGUAGE.** (i.) and (ii.) Latin. (iii.) Latin and English.

**DECORATION.** Note use of almost pure *Text* in (iii.). **ARABIC NUMERALS** (late sixteenth or seventeenth century) in margin of (iii.).

**SPECIAL NOTES.** In (iii.) we have the uniform spacing of lines which is a marked feature of *Chancery* writing as well as letter forms. (i.) and (ii.) are printed in *Rotuli Scocie*, II, pp. 462 and 568; (iii.) in *Statutes of the Realm*, III, p. 464.

### TRANSCRIPT

(i.)

De saluo  
 conductu pro  
 Episcopo  
 Aberdonensi  
 et aliis./

¶ <1> Rex. Vniuersis et singulis admirallis etcetera salutem. Sciatis quod ad rogatum Consanguinei <2> nostri Iacobi Regis Scotorum suscepimus in saluum et securum conductum nostrum ac in\* <3> proteccionem tuicionem et defensionem nostras speciales Reuerendum patrem Willelmum Episcopum <4> Aberdonensem et Willelmum Knolles preceptorem de Torseyken ordinis sancti Iohannis Ieroso <5> Iomitani Ambassiatores Oratores et Commissarios dicti Consanguinei nostri in regnum <6> nostrum cum quadraginta personis de regno Scocie in comitiua sua et totidem\* <7> equis vel infra ac cum bogeis manticis rebus bonis iocalibus literis papiris auro et <8> argento monetatis. necnon fardellis capsulis et sarcunculis suis quibuscumque <9> coniunctim et diuisim veniendo ibidem morando soiornando conuersando et† expectando‡ et iterum§ <10> in regnum Scocie quando et quociens sibi placuerit durante presenti saluo conductu <11> nostro redeundo et reueniendo absque impedimento aut impetitione nostri aut officiariorum <12> seu Ministrorum nostrorum quorumcumque aliqua marca contra-marqua siue reprisali\* <13> concessa vel concedenda non obstante. Ita tamen quod infra regnum nostrum Anglie presenti <14> saluo conductu nostro durante ipsi ipsorum ve§ aliquis nichil attemptent seu attemptet <15> quod in nostri aut eiusdem regni nostri cedere queat preiudicium quoque modo Sic\* <16> tamen quod si aliquid per eorum aliquem incontrarium attemptatum fuerit quod ipse sic <17> attemptans pro eo iuxta eius demerita puniatur. nostro presenti saluo conductu quo <18> ad alios in suo robore permanente Et ideo vobis mandamus etcetera In cuius etcetera <19> vsque ad primum diem Maij proximo futurum duraturas Teste Rege. apud Westmonasterium viij die <20> Marcij ./

per ipsum Regem

\* Flourish filling up end of line.

† Inserted above line with caret.

‡ iterum apparently intended, though the lettering suggests itineri.

§ A letter erased after ve.

(ii.)

<1> Henricus dei gracia Rex Anglie et ffrancie et Dominus Hibernie. Vniuersis et singulis <2> ad quorum noticias presentes litere peruenerint. salutem. Cum quidam tractatus <3> de reformatione attemptatorum inter bone memorie dominum Henricum nuper Regem <4> Anglie et ffrancie patrem nostrum carissimum nuperime\* defunctum. et illustrissimum <5> Principem Iacobum Regem Scotorum fratrem et Consanguineum nostrum per oratores <6> suos hincinde sufficienter auctorizatos nuper initus factus et conclusus ac postea <7> per eosdem Reges per suas separatas literas patentes magnis sigillis suis† <8> sigillatas et suis manibus subscriptas confirmatus approbatus de nouo† <9> concessus et ratificatus fuerat. In quo quidem tractatu inter cetera expresse continetur. <10> et specificatur. quod heredes et successores principum predictorum et eorum singuli† <11> successiue infra sex menses proximo et immediate sequentes mortem sui anteces- <12> soris vel predecessoris Regis literas suas predicti tractatus et omnium et singulorum arti- <13> culorum in eodem contentorum ratificatorias confirmatorias magno sigillo suo† <14> sigillatas et manu sua propria subscriptas alteri principi tunc superstiti et pro tempore <15> existenti traderent et deliberarent tradi\* ve\* et deliberari facerent./ Cuius quidem <16> tractatus tenor sequitur in hec verba, Henricus dei gracia Rex Anglie et ffrancie <17> et Dominus Hibernie. Vniuersis et singulis ad quorum noticias presentes litere peruenerint <18> [salutem Cum] Reuerendissimus in christo pater Henricus Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus

(iii.)

A ratyfica-  
cion' of' the  
acte for the  
exoneracyon'  
of' exaccyons  
payd' to the  
See of' Rome §

28§

- <1> Memorandum quod septimo die Aprilis Anno regni Regis Henrici octauī vicesimo quinto Idem dominus Rex per literas suas patentes sub magno‡ <2> sigillo suo sigillatas actum predictum ratificauit et confirmauit et actui illo\* assensum~suum regium dedit prout per easdem literas patentes cuius tenor <3> sequitur in hec verba magis aperte constat. Rex omnibus ad quos etcetera, salutem, Inspeximus quendam actum editum in <4> parlamento nostro inchoato tercio die Nouembris anno regni nostri vicesimo primo et abinde per diuersas prorogaciones prorogato et adhuc continuato <5> Cuius quidem actus tenor sequitur in hec verba~Moost humbly besechen your moost Royall' magestie youre obedyent and <6> faythfull' subiectes the Comons of this your present parliament assembled' by your moost drad commaundement That where your <7> subiectes of this your Realme and of other Countreys and Domynyons beyng' vnder your obey-saunce by many yeres past haue ben' <8> and yet be greatly decayed' and impouerished' by suche intollerable exaccyons of' great sommes of' money as haue ben claymed' and <9> taken and yet contynually be claymed' to be taken' out of this your realme and other your said' Countreys and Domynyons by <10> the Bysshop of Rome called' the Pope and the See of Rome aswell' in pensions Censes peter pence procuracions frutes suetes <11> for prouysyons and expedyctions of' bulles for Archebisshoppriches and Bysshoppriches and for delagacies and rescriptes in causes of <12> contencions and appeales iurisdiccions legatyne and also for dispensacions licences faculties grauntes relaxacions wryttes called <13> perinde valere|| rehabilitacions obolicions and other infinite sortes of bulles breues and instrumentes of sondry natures names <14> and kyndes in greate nombres hertofore practysed' and opteyned otherwyse than by the lawes lawdable vses and customes <15> of' this realme shuld' be permytted' The specialitees whereof be ouer longe large in nombre and tedyous here partycularly to be <16> in-

\* Sic MS.

† Flourish filling up the end of the line.

‡ Flourish filling up end of this and all succeeding lines except 9, 10, 12, 17, 18 and 21.

§ Marginal and number added by later hand.

|| Written over erasure.



PLATE XXXVI

serted' wherein the Bysshop of' Rome aforsaid' hath nat ben' onely to be blamed for his vsurpacion' in the premysses but also <17> for his abusyng' and begylyng' your subiectes pretending and persuadyng to them that he hath full' poure to dyspence with' <18> all' humayn' lawes vses and customes of' all' realmes in all' causes which be called' spirituall' whiche matter hath' ben' vsurped <19> and practysed' by hym' and his predecessours by many yeres in greate derogacion' of' your imperiall' crowne and auctorite royall' <20> contrary to right and conscience/ffor where this your graces realme recognysing' no superiour vnder god' but onely your grace <21> hath' ben' and ys free from subiection' to any mannys lawes but onely to suche as haue ben' dyuysed' made and ordeyned <22> within this realme for the welth of the same or to suche other as by sufferaunce of' your grace and your <23> progenytours the people of' this your realme hath taken' at their free libertie by their owne consent to be vsed' amonges <24> them and haue bounde theym selffes by longe vse and custome to the obseruaunce of the same not as to the obseruaunce <25> of' the lawes of' any foreyn Prynce potentate or prelate but as to the accustomed' and auncyent lawes of this realme <26> originally establysshed' as lawes of' the same by the said' sufferaunce consentes and custome and none otherwyse It

## PLATE XXXVII

CHANCERY, PETTY BAG, BOOKS, PAPERS, ETC., relating to the administration  
of the Office (*C.* 220), 8, *m.* 4, 16, 33, 59 and 64 (part of each)

**HANDS.** There is some change in the *Chancery Set Hands* but the smallness of it, in 50 years, is the more noteworthy: see PART I., pp. 70, 71. The hands introducing the questions to which the writs in *Chancery Hand* are a reply are different kinds of *Secretary*, the influence of *Italic* being strong in (v.), a typical crabbed, but careful, sloped *Secretary* of 1641.

**MATERIAL.** Parchment. Note that the left hand, and in (iii.) the right hand, margin of the roll has been omitted in photographing.

**LETTER FORMS.** Nothing exceptional. Note in (v.) typical exaggerated regularity of certain diagonal strokes above and below the line: even *r* (*Hillarij*, line 7) is affected by this; cp. *Carolus* in (iv.) line 1.

**ABBREVIATIONS.** Normal. Note in all, but in (v.) particularly, two contrasting marks of ordinary abbreviation—the curved and the very thin straight one;

also the very thin marks of suspension attached to final letters, such as *d*.

**PUNCTUATION.** The point with virgula still appears in (i.) and (ii.) at the end of the 'question' and point with colon in (v.) at the end of the writ. Forms of colon in (i.) and (iv.). Note absence of rule regarding stop after *salutem* (colon in (i.), nothing in (ii.) or (iv.), point in (iii.) and (v.)).

**LANGUAGE.** English and Latin. (iv.) Latin only. Suspensions have disappeared in the English but spelling still a little irregular.

**SPECIAL NOTES.** No ruling is seen in (i.) to (iv.) but a very obvious blunt stile has been used in (v.).

These are, as it were, Diploma Pieces by Thomas Albery, Lazarus Garth, Richard Cartwright, John Burnell, and Charles Leathom for admission to the College of *Cursistæ*: see PART I., p. 69.

### TRANSCRIPT

#### (i.)

¶ James Dalby bringeth an accion of dett ageynst A the Bisshopp of Rochester <2> as ordynarye for the goodes of Iohn' Ryly whiche died intestate./

¶ <3> Regina Vicecomiti Essex': salutem: Precipe Iohanni Episcopo Roffensi ad cuius manus bona et catalla\* <4> que fuerunt Iohannis Rylye qui obiit intestatus vt dicitur deuenerunt quod iuste et sine <5> dilacione reddat Iacobo Dalby Centum solidos quos idem Iohannes Rylye ei debuit et\* <6> predictus Episcopus ei iniuste detinet vt dicit: Et nisi fecerit et predictus Iacobus fecerit te securum <7> de clamio suo proseguendo tunc summoneas per bonos summonitores predictum Episcopum quod sit coram Iusticiis nostris apud <8> Westmonasterium in Octabis sancti Michaelis: ostensus quare non fecerit: Et habeas ibi summonicionem et hoc breue\* <9> Teste me ipsa apud Westmonasterium xxiiij die Iulij Anno regni nostri vicesimo tercio:

#### (ii.)

<1> Anthony Browne bounde to Cutbert Dymock in xl<sup>li</sup> Anthony dyeth and maketh Edward ffrancklyn his Executor <2> after that, Cutbert dyeth and† maketh his executor George Heneage beinge w<sup>th</sup>in age And Iohn Kitchyn as Admynistrator <3> of the goodes and chattells of the saide Cutbert durynge the mynority of the saide George bringeth an accion of detinue <4> agaynst the saide Edward ffrancklyn./

<5> Regina etcetera vicecomitibus london' Salutem Precipite Edwardo ffrancklyn' de london' Generoso executori testamenti Antonij Browne nuper <6> dicti Anthonij Browne de london' generosi quod iuste et sine dilacione reddat Iohanni Kitchen' administratori bonorum et catallorum que fuerunt Cutberti\* <7> Dymock' durante minore etate Georgij Heneage executoris testamenti predicti Cutberti quadraginta libras quas ei iniuste detinet vt dicit Et <8> nisi fecerit et predictus administrator fecerit vos securos de clamio suo proseguendo tunc summoneatis per bonos summonitores

\* Flourish in MS. filling up end of line.

† Tironian et in MS.



predictum Edwardum quod sit coram Iusticiis nostris apud <9> Westmonasterium in Crastino sancte Trinitatis, ostensurus quare non fecerit Et habeatis ibi summonicionem et hoc breue Teste me ipsa apud Westmonasterium vj die Maij Anno regni nostri tricesimo nono.

(iii.)

<1> Robert Watson seised of Landes in Islington demysed the same to William Brett for terme of yeares Who Committeth Waste in the sayd Landes The sayde <2> Robert bringeth his action of Waste as followeth

<3> Iacobus dei gracia Anglie Scocie ffrancie et Hibernie Rex fidei defensor etcetera. Vicecomiti Midd' salutem. Si Robertus Watson fecerit te securum de clamio <4> suo prosequendo tunc summoneas per bonos summonitores Willelmum Brett quod sit coram Iusticiis nostris apud Westmonasterium a die Pasche in xv dies ostensurus quare\* <5> cum de communi consilio regni nostri Anglie prouisum sit quod non liceat alicui vastum vendicionem seu destruccionem facere de terris domibus

(iv.)

<1> Carolus dei gracia Anglie Scocie ffrancie et Hibernie Rex fidei defensor etcetera Vicecomiti Staff' salutem Precipe Thome Martyn' quod iuste et sine <2> dilacione reddat Elizabethe Martyn' vidue que fuit vxor Henrici Martyn' rationabilem dotem suam que eam contingit de libero

(v.)

<1> John Parson seised of Landes in Ecton in the County of North't' taketh to wife Katherin and selleth the said Landes to <2> Richard Martyn Katherin surviveth the said Iohn Parson and bringeth her accion against the said Richard Martyn <3> for her dower.

<4> Carolus dei gracia Anglie Scocie ffrancie et Hibernie Rex fidei defensor etcetera Vicecomiti North't' salutem. Precipe Ricardo Martyn' quod iuste et sine dilacione reddat <5> Katerine Parson' Vidue que fuit vxor Iohannis Parson' rationabilem dotem suam que eam contingit de libero tenemento quod fuit predicti Iohannis quondam <6> viri sui in Ecton' vnde nihil habet vt dicit Et vnde queritur quod predictus Ricardus ei deforciat. Et nisi fecerit et predicta Katerina fecerit te securum de clamio suo <7> prosequendo tunc summoneas per bonos summonitores predictum Ricardum quod sit coram Iusticiis apud Westmonasterium in Octabis sancti Hillarij ostensurus quare non fecerit Et habeas ibi <8> summonicionem et hoc breue Teste me ipso apud Westmonasterium xviiij die Decembris Anno regni nostri. decimo septimo:

\* *Flourish filling up line.*

## PLATE XXXVIII

EXCHEQUER, L.T.R., PIPE ROLLS (*E.* 372), 272, 335, 362, 415, 470

(PART OF KINGSTON-ON-THAMES ENTRY IN EACH)

[NOTE. In order to give the writing in full size the complete width of the Roll  
is not included in the photograph.]

**HANDS.** *Pipe Office Hand* in all except (iii.) which is an ordinary *L.T.R. Hand*. Development of the short stroke with obtuse angle left and right at head and foot is seen in (i.) and (ii.) and that of the backward slope in (iv.) and (v.), the final exaggeration being seen in the large writing in (v.)

**MATERIAL.** Parchment. Note the thick black carbon ink used in (iv.) and (v.).

**LETTER FORMS.** For the peculiarities, finally developed in (v.), see Alphabet and PART I., p. 74.

**ABBREVIATIONS.** Nothing notable except double ab-

breviation of *Rotulo* and this is not abnormal (cp. Plate XXXIX). Note the **CONJOINED** *Et* throughout.

**PUNCTUATION.** The stops before and after numerals continue throughout but become irregular.

**DECORATION.** For the Pipe Roll *S* see PART I., p. 73. The Decorated initials are noticeable but not exceptionally so. Note hair-strokes on *Et* in (i.), (ii.) and (iii.).

**SPECIAL NOTES.** Typical Pipe Roll **SYMBOLS** appear in (ii.) and (v.). That in (ii.) was originally letter *t*.

Note an insertion of names in (ii.) and (iii.) line 1.

### TRANSCRIPT

(i.)

<1> [H]omines de Kyngeston' per Iohannem lake ballium suum reddunt compotum de .xx. s. pro eisdem Hominibus sicut continetur in Rotulo principali Et .xl.

<2> sicut continetur ibidem Et .xxvij. li. viij. s. vj. d. ob.\* pro eisdem hominibus de feodi firma ville sue ibidem Et .x. s. de ffinibus et ex

<3> Rotuli Et .xxij. s. viij. d. de exitibus diuersis sicut continetur ibidem Et .xxij. d. de amerciam-  
mentis diuersis ibidem Et .xx. d. de exitibus diuersis ibidem

<4> ibidem Et .vj. d. de amerciammentis diuersis ibidem Et .xij. d. de consimilibus amerciammentis  
ibidem. Et .ij. s. xj. d. de consimilibus amerciammentis ibidem Et ij. s. viij

<5> ffinibus et amerciammentis diuersis ibidem Summa .xxxij. li. x. s. vj. d. ob In thesauro. xl.  
s in ij talliis per dictos homines de exitibus

(ii.)

<1> Homines de Kyngeston' per Willelmum fforde Ballium suum † reddunt compotum de xx. s pro  
ho[minibus]

<2> iiij d pro Balliuis ville de Kyngeston' sicut continetur ibidem Et xxvij. li viij s. vj d pro  
Hominibus de Kyngeston' de

<3> viij d de ffinibus exitibus et amerciammentis diuersis pro vicecomite sicut continetur ex alia parte  
Rotuli Et .viij d de exitibus diuersis sicut continetur ibidem

<4> xj s viij d de exitibus diuersis ibidem Et ix s iiij d de ffinibus et amerciammentis diuersis ibidem.  
Et xxij s viij d de amerciammentis diuersis i[bidem]

<5> ffinibus exitibus et amerciammentis diuersis ibidem. Summa .xxxvij. li xvij s ij d.

(iii.)

<1> Homines ville de Kyngeston' per Henricum Bowrer'. et Thomam Robynson' balliuos suos  
reddunt Compotum de xx. s pro hominibus de

<2> iiij d pro balliuis ville de Kyngeston' sicut continetur ibidem Et xxvij. li viij s vj d pro  
hominibus de Kyngeston'§ de feodi firma ville sue et incremento eiusdem

\* Here and throughout MS. has li, §, d and ob.

† Blank space filled in with short flourishes in MS.

‡ Inside this letter is added in another hand exr.

§ to § Inserted above line with caret.



PLATE XXXVIII

- <3> [vij d *expunged*] pro Thoma ffysh' et aliis ibidem Summa .xxx li ix s\* vj d In thesauro xl s in ij tallis per dictos homines de exitibus ba[lliue]  
 <4> per dictos homines de feodi firma ville sue et incremento eiusdem de quibus onerantur inter parcialia sua supra de xxvij  
 <5> hospicio Regis. Et in thesauro xliij st vj d in ij tallis per dictos homines de pluribus debitis suis pro Willelmo yong' et Willelmo Oxwef

(iv.)

- <1> Homines ville de Kingeston' super Thamisia per Iohannem Sepham et Thomam lidgolde Balliuos suos debent .xlvij. li. iij. s. xj. d. de pluribus  
 <2> eundem in Rotulo precedenti in Item Sussex' In Thesauro. iij. s. iiij. d. xvj<sup>mo</sup> die Aprilis anno quarto per dictos homines  
 <3> in duabus tallis per dictos homines de quibus onerantur inter parcialia sua in Rotulo secundo in Item Sussex'

(v.)

- <1> Homines ville de Kingeston' super Thamisia per [*blank in MS.*] Balliuos suos reddunt Co[m]potum]  
 <2> in Rotulo principali Et. xl. s. iiij d. pro balliis ville de Kingeston' sicut continetur ibidem Et .xxvij li. viij s. vj d. pro B[alliis]  
 <3> Et lxxv. s. de ffinibus diuersis pro vicecomite ibidem Et lx. s. de ffinibus et amerciamentis diuersis pro eodem vicecomite ibidem Et .xvj s. vii  
 <4> pro eodem vicecomite ibidem Summa. xli. ‡ li. vj d. Et. xiiij li. de ffinibus et amerciamentis necnon recognicionibus di[uersis]  
 <5> ibidem Summa lv. li. vj d. In thesauro iij s iiij d. xxvj<sup>to</sup> Iunij Anno secundo per dictum Ballium de Exitibus Ba[lliue]  
 §<6> xxvj<sup>o</sup> Iunij anno secundo de quibus oneratur supra infra quandam summam .xxvij li  
 <7> ffeodi firma ville sue de sol' Et non debet summoneri de .xx. s. de quibus lidem homines onerantur inter parcialia sua in Rotulo pri[mo]  
 <8> videlicet de hoc anno sicut allocatum est in Rotulo primo et secundo Philippi et Marie nuper Regis et Regine in Residuo Sussex' per processum et Consideracionem Baronum  
 <9> onerantur inter parcialia sua ibidem de quadam ffirmā .xl. s. iiij d. de remanencia lv s. iiij d. de diuersis seriantiis videlicet de hoc anno sicut allocatum est ibidem Et non

\* Written over viij s which is expunged.

† Written over xxiij s which is expunged.

‡ Written over an erasure.

§ Two reference marks in margin at this point.

# PLATE XXXIX.

(i.) INDEX 6926 (EXCHEQUER, L.T.R., REPERTORY TO MEMORANDA ROLL) m. 81d (part)

(ii.) EXCHEQUER, K.R., MEMORANDA ROLLS (*E.* 159), 256, Comm. Rec. Mich., m. vi (part)

**HANDS.** (i.) A typical *L.T.R. Hand*, very narrow, angular and upright or slightly backward-sloping: cp. Plate xxxviii (iii.) and see PART I., p. 72. It should be contrasted with the *K.R. Repertory* of the same date in Plate xl (ii.).

(ii.) Two hands, the first a rough *Bastard*, the second differentiated but not differing yet from the *Chancery*: compare with the developed hands in Plates xl (*K.R.*) and xxxvi, xxxvii (*Chancery*).

**MATERIALS.** Parchment. Note the black heavily carboned ink in (i.).

**LETTER FORMS.** All are typical and call for little special comment. *v* and *u* occur in (i.) in their old usage except in an English word, *lovelace*, where *v* is used medially.

**ABBREVIATIONS.** Normal in (i.): but note the abbreviated *D* and doubly abbreviated *R* (*Rotulo*, *Regine*). In (ii.) note the use of the *est* sign shaped

like abbreviated *s* both in margin and text (l. 12). Note also different signs in the two hands for ordinary abbreviation, that of the first including a dot. Continuation of final letters into a suspension mark common throughout. Note the shortened names of writs, such as *sci fa* without sign of abbreviation ((i.) line 15).

**LANGUAGE.** Latin both.

**PUNCTUATION.** Practically none. The reversed comma occurs occasionally: note the use of it in (ii.), l. 14, to close a paragraph. Note also filling of space left by ERASURE in (ii.). Occasional flourishes to fill up the line occur in both. Note the BRACKETS in (ii.) in heading and marginal.

**SPECIAL NOTE.** The references at the end of each entry in (i.) are to membranes (*Rotuli*) of the *Memoranda Roll*: *sci fa* is the writ *scire facias*.

## TRANSCRIPT

(i.)

- <1> Adhuc Trinitatis Recorda anno  
 <2> nono Regine Elizabethe : .  
 Hertf' <3> De Iohanne Butler Milite et Grisilla vxore eius\* <4> occasionatis ad faciendum  
 domine Regine homagium et <5> fidelitatem pro parcella Manerij de Aston' cum perti-  
 nenciis <6> in Comitatu predicto pretextu diuersorum finium inde\* <7> leuatorum Rotulo  
 liij<sup>o</sup>  
 Kancia <8> De Ricardo Knatchebull' occasionato per breue domine Regine <9> de sci fa ad  
 ostendendum quare vnum Mesuagium\* <10> vnum horreum DCCiiijvj acre marisci frisci  
 <11> et alia in Comitatu predicto in manum domine Regine ratione <12> alienacionis  
 inde sine licencia regia facte <13> capi et seisiri non debent Rotulo l:iiij/  
 Kancia <14> De Iohanne Knatchebull' occasionato per breue domine Regine <15> de sci fa ad  
 ostendendum quare Diiij<sup>xx</sup> xix\* <16> acre Marisci frisci et CCCxl acre marisci <17> salsi in  
 manum domine Regine ratione alienacionis\* <18> inde sine licencia facte capi et seiret  
 non debent <19> Rotulo lv/  
 Kancia <20> De Thoma lovelace et leonardo lovelace\* <21> occasionatis ad ostendendum domine  
 Regine qualiter et <22> quo titulo ingressi sunt et tenent Maneria de <23> Kingesdowne  
 et Burstall' cum suis pertinenciis <24> in Comitatu predicto Rotulo lvj<sup>to</sup>/  
 North't' <25> De Iohanne Blinco secundo filio Iohannis Blincoo <26> defuncti occasionato ad  
 ostendendum domine Regine nunc <27> quo titulo ingressus est in le holte in Midleton  
 <28> Cheynye in Comitatu predicto Rotulo lvij<sup>o</sup>/

\* *Flourish filling up line.*

† *Sic MS.*



(ii.)

<1> Adhuc Communia de termino sancti Michaelis anno decimo nono Regis Edwardi iiiij<sup>th</sup>

<2> { Adhuc Recorda }

North't' } <3> Memorandum quod Ricardus Emson' ffirmarius subsidii et vlnagii pannorum  
Rotel' et } <4> venalium in Comitatibus North't' et Rotel' ac in villa North't' venit et <5> compu-  
Villa } tauit de medietate\* —,,—,,—,,— forisfacture\* <6> pannorum venalium in Comitatibus  
North't' } et villa predictis vendicioni expositorum sigillo ad <7> hoc ordinato minime consigna-  
torum videlicet a festo Pasche anno xvij<sup>th</sup> <8> Regis huius ante quod festum dictus  
Ricardus Emson' nuper appruator <9> subsidii et vlnagii predictorum ibidem inde  
computauit vsque festum sancti Michaelis <10> anno decimo nono Regis huius scilicet  
per vnum anni integrum dimidium <11> anni et ix dies a quo quidem festo sancti  
Michaelis dicto anno decimo nono <12> prefatus Ricardus Emson' est alias inde com-  
putaturus, Ideo† preceptum est vicecomiti dicti Comitatus <13> North't' quod pre-  
fatum Ricardum Emson' distringat per terras etcetera Ita etcetera in Octabis sancti  
Michaelis anno <14> futuro ad computandum in premissis,

Anglia‡

litere Regis <15> Edwardus dei gracia Rex Anglie et ffrancie et Dominus Hibernie Omnibus ad  
patentes quos <16> presentes litere peruenerint salutem Sciatis quod nos de gracia nostra speciali  
facte concedimus dilecto <17> et fideli seruienti nostro Willelmo Husee generali attornato  
Willelmo custodiam omnium Maneriorum terrarum <18> et tenementorum cum pertinencijs que  
Huse de tam post mortem Edmundi Blount defuncti qui de <19> nobis tenuit in capite die quo  
custodia obiit ac racione minoris etatis Simonis Blount <20> armigeri filij et heredis predicti  
terrarum et Edmundi ad manus nostras deuenerunt seu deuenire <21> debuerunt quam omnium  
tenemen- Maneriorum terrarum et tenementorum cum pertinencijs que nuper fuerunt predicti  
torum Simonis <22> Blount similiter defuncti qui de nobis tenuit in capite die quo obiit et que  
que fuerunt ad manus <23> nostras deuenerunt seu deuenire debuerunt per siue post mortem pre-  
Edmundi dicti Simonis ac racione <24> minoris etatis Margarete filie et heredis eiusdem Simonis  
Blount vnacum maritagio <25> eiusdem Margarete absque disparagacione simul cum feodis  
terre etcetera Militum aduocationibus Ecclesiarum <26> et cantariarum predictis Manerijs terris et  
tenementis seu eorum alicui pertinentibus siue spectantibus Habenda§ <27> occupanda et  
possidenda custodiam predictam ac cetera premissa cum pertinencijs prefato Willelmo  
<28> Husee et assignatis suis a tempore mortis predicti Simonis vsque ad plenam etatem  
predicte <29> Margarete et quamdiu custodia Maneriorum terrarum et tenementorum  
predictorum ac ceterorum premissorum cum pertinencijs in <30> manibus nostris fore seu  
remanere contigerit vnacum exitibus et proficuis inde a tempore predicto

\* Written over an erasure with flourishes filling up space between the two words.

† Passage from this point added afterwards in a smaller hand.

‡ This entry in a hand different from the preceding.

§ Flourish filling up line.

# PLATE XL

INDEXES 7042, 7045 (EXCHEQUER, K.R., REPERTORIES

TO MEMORANDA ROLLS) m. 84 (part) and m. 213d (part)

**HANDS.** Formed hand of the *Exchequer, K.R.* (see PART I., p. 71). Note the continuation of the tradition from (i.) to (ii.) thirty years later; and contrast (i.) with Plate xxxix (ii.) (second hand).

**MATERIALS.** Parchment: note again black ink.

**LETTER FORMS.** Nothing abnormal but some in (i.) are worth study; for instance the *g* (*hoggeshed*), line 6) and *y* (*Thomys*, line 7): and survival of an old form of *r* in *lyster* (line 7). *u* and *v* as in Plate xxxix (i.).

**ABBREVIATIONS.** Little out of the ordinary. The *-es* or *-is* abbreviation is used in (i.) (*certis*, line 15) and note the loose use of superior *a* in *Williams* (line 16). Abbreviated *D* in both, and doubly abbreviated *R*. Note gemipunctus in (ii.) (*H.*, line 33).

**LANGUAGE.** Latin. Note *succiss*' and other slips.

**PUNCTUATION.** Practically none, but the virgula suddenly appears in (ii.) line 29. Flourishes to fill up lines in both. Note **BRACKETS** in margin of (ii.).

## TRANSCRIPT

(i.)

*N.B. This transcript follows the numeration of the Plate, which is not quite correct*

<1> Adhuc Repertorium de tempore Regis Henrici octauī

<2> Adhuc De Termino sancte Trinitatis anno xxiiij<sup>to</sup>

Sussex' <3> De vna pipa vini vocati Romney per Thomam\* <4> Thomys seruientem Ade lyster Scrutatoris etc' certis <5> de causis tanquam fforisfacta pertinente seisita et arrestata etc' Rotulo xij

Sussex' <6> De vna hoggeshed' vini coloris albi per Thomam <7> Thomys seruientem Ade lyster scrutatoris nuper seisita Rotulo eodem

Sussex' <8> De vna pipa vini vocati Rompney† per <9> Thomam Thomys seruientem ut supra Rotulo‡ xiiij<sup>mo</sup>‡

Somers' <10> De Willelmo Carraunt Milite occasionato pro quodam <11> contemptu per ipsum ut dicitur facto Rotulo‡ xiiij<sup>mo</sup>‡

Sussex' <12> De vna Barella Candellarum et aliis mercandisis per Adam <13> lyster ad opus Regis certis de causis tanquam fforisfactis pertinentibus Rotulo eodem

Bristol' <14> De tribus hoggesheddes vini de bonis Henrici Iones <15> nuper per Iohannem Raven certis de causis Regi forisfactis Rotulo xv<sup>mo</sup>

Sussex' <16> De Thoma Will'ms de Buluerhide Simone\* <17> Harman de Bexill' et Thoma Cheuerell' de eadem <18> allocutis de quibusdam transgressionibus et contemptibus <19> per ipsos nuper factis etc' Rotulo xvj<sup>mo</sup>

Norff' <20> De Iohanne Power maiore ville de Ienn' Episcopi allocuto <21> ad respondendum Regi de quodam contemptu etc' Ac de <22> vij lastis allecii etc' Rotulo xvij<sup>mo</sup>

(ii.)

<1> Adhuc Repertorium Recordorum de Anno ~

<2> infrascripto ~ /

<3> Adhuc termino Sancti Michaelis.

Midd' <4> De xxxij s§ recuperatis super Cristoferum Smythe <5> pretextu cuiusdam scripti obligatorij <6> Rotulo CCCxlix

Ebor' <7> De xl li recuperatis super Iohannem Weste pretextu <8> cuiusdam scripti obligatorij <9> Rotulo CCCl<sup>mo</sup>

\* A flourish here filling up the end of the line.

† After this word the scribe has apparently begun to write seisita but has struck it through.

‡ Bracketed to shew that these words should be on a separate line.

§ li, s and d are abbreviated in the original throughout.



PLATE XL

Dors'	}	<10> De lxxiiij <sup>li</sup> x <sup>s</sup> recuperatis super Willelmum Constantyn' <11> pretextu cuiusdam
Poole		Recognicionis <12> Rotulo CCClj <sup>o</sup>
Warr'	}	<13> De Cxxiiij <sup>li</sup> xvj <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup> recuperatis super Ambrosium <14> Cave Militem pretextu
Hereff'		cuiusdam Recognicionis <15> Rotulo Eodem
Anglia	}	<16> De scripto obligatorio Willelmi Myrryat et* <17> Stephani Stanley cancellato et
Dors'		deliberato* <18> pretextu cuiusdam finis proinde cum Domina Regina <19> facti etc' Rotulo CCClij
london'	}	<20> De iudicio reddito super confessionem Attornati Regine <21> ad placitum Margarete
Midd'		lyvers pro mutuacione <22> pecunie in vsuram contra formam statuti <23> Rotulo CCCLIj
lincoln'	}	<24> De manu domine Regine amovenda a possessione <25> certorum terrarum et
		tenementorum in Horblyn' in manu ipsius* <26> Regine pro debito Thome Dynton' per Vicecomitem Comitatus predicti <27> pretextu brevis de extendi nuper captorum. Ac de* <28> Vincentio Randall' ad possessionem inde* <29> restituendo/pretextu Consideracionis Baronum etc' <30> Rotulo CCCliiij
Buck'	}	<31> De replicacione fienda ad placitum Thome* <32> Reade pro valore diuersorum
Oxon'		boscorum et subboscorum <33> per leonardum Reade nuper Ballium tam nuper Regis .H. <34> viij <sup>ui</sup> quam nuper Regis Edwardi vj <sup>ti</sup> diuersorum boscorum vocatorum <35> Pawncyll' Wooddes infra fforrestam† de* <36> Barnewoodd' succissorum† etc' Rotulo CCClv.
Ebor'		<37> De replicacione fienda ad placitum Thome*

\* *A flourish filling up the end of the line.*

† *Sic MS.*

# PLATE XLI

## SELECTION FROM UNSORTED KING'S BENCH WRITS

**HANDS.** With the exception of (iv.), which is an early *Chancery Hand*, these illustrate the development of the *Legal Hand*: (i.) and (ii.) are in a small rough *Bastard*, (iii.) a typical untidy, fifteenth-century, half-set hand: (v.) and (vi.) again typical ordinary fifteenth-century hands but with traces of the *Legal*: this grows stronger in (vii.) and in (viii.) the small *Legal Hand* is fully developed. See PART I., p. 74 and for dates see note below.

**MATERIAL.** Parchment.

**ABBREVIATIONS.** The different forms of final suspensions, especially on *c*, *d*, *n*, *r* and *t*, should be studied and contrasted in (iii.), (vi.), (vii.) and (viii.). The common legal abbreviations for *suspensus* (hanged) and *marescallus* (marshal of the Court) are seen in (vi.).

**PUNCTUATION.** None in (ii.), (iii.), (vi.), (vii.) and (viii.).

Period flourish at end of (i.). Reversed comma appears in the *Chancery Hand* of (iv.). (v.) uses the flourish to fill up a line and has a point at the end.

**LANGUAGE.** Latin.

**SPECIAL NOTES.** (iv.) is an 'Original' Writ of *pone per vadium* (Henry VI), (vi.) a fiat for Inquest (Richard III) and (v.) a Return. The rest are 'Judicial' Writs out of the King's Bench (i.) of *supersedeas* (Richard II); (ii.) of *venire facias* (Henry IV); (iii.) of *capias* (Henry VI); (vii.) of *sicut pluries non omittas* (Henry VII); (viii.) of *exigi facias* (Henry VIII).

The names at the end of some writs are those of the clerks who wrote: the references (preceded by the word *R<sup>o</sup>* or *r'*) are to the Plea Roll (*Coram Rege Roll*) membranes except where the *Controlment Roll* (*contrarotulamentum*) is specified.

### TRANSCRIPT

(i.)

<1> Ricardus dei gracia Rex Anglie et ffrancie et Dominus Hibernie vicecomiti. lincolnie salutem Quia Iohannes Goueld' de Salflethauene venit <2> in Curia nostra coram nobis et reddidit se prisone Marescalcie nostre pro quibusdam feloniis vnde coram Coronatoribus nostris Comitatus predicti indictatus <3> est tibi precipimus quod de exigendo prefatum Iohannem vltorius ad aliquem Comitatum tuum capiendo seu aliter molestando occasionibus predictis <4> omnino supersedeas Teste W Clopton' apud lincolniam xv die Maij anno regni nostri decimo nono ~  
Brud'

(ii.)

<1> Henricus dei gracia Rex Anglie et ffrancie et Dominus Hibernie vicecomiti Somers' salutem Precipimus tibi quod venire facias coram nobis a die Pasche in xv dies vbicumque <2> tunc fuerimus in Anglia xxiiij<sup>or</sup> tam Milites quam alios liberos et legales homines de visneto de Hanne per quos rei veritas melius sciri poterit Et qui <3> nec Thomam Hede querentem nec Willelmum Bercorne de Bruggewater aliqua affinitate attingant ad recognoscendum super sacramentum suum si predictus Willelmus\*

(iii.)

<1> Henricus dei gracia Rex Anglie et ffrancie et Dominus Hibernie Vicecomiti Midd' Salutem Precipimus tibi quod capias Iohannem Austyn' nuper de Cirencestr' in Comitatu Glouc' <2> Chapman' si inuentus fuerit in balliua tua Et eum saluo custodias Ita quod habeas corpus eius coram nobis in Crastino Ascensionis domini vbicumque <3> tunc fuerimus in Anglia ad respondendum Thome Hardman' de placito transgressionis Et habeas ibi hoc breue Teste I ffortescu apud Westmonasterium quarto die Maij <4> Anno regni nostri tricesimo quinto  
Ro viij† Coton'

(iv.)

<1> Henricus dei gracia Rex Anglie et ffrancie et Dominus Hibernie Vicecomiti Wiltes', salutem Si Henricus Iye fecerit te securum de clamio suo proseguendo, tunc pone per vadium et saluos plegios <2> Willelmum Geffereys de Ebbesbornewake in Comitatu tuo husbondman quod sit coram nobis in Crastino Ascensionis domini vbicumque tunc fuerimus in Anglia, ostensurus quare vi et <3> armis quendam bouem ipsius Henrici precii quadraginta solidorum

\* Remainder of writ omitted in facsimile.

† The reference perhaps added later.



apud Ebbesbornewake inuentum cepit et abduxit et alia enormia ei intulit ad graue dampnum  
 <4> ipsius Henrici et contra pacem nostram Et habeas ibi nomina plegiorum et hoc breue  
 Teste me ipso apud Westmonasterium quinto die Aprilis Anno regni nostri tricesimo quinto  
 Pemberton'

(v.)

<1> Responsio Elizabethe <2> Venour Custodis <3> palacij infra scripti  
 <4> Ante aduentum istius <5> precepti scilicet vicesimo <6> secundo die Ianuarij <7> vltimo  
 preterito infra <8> nominatus Iohannes infra <9> palacium predictum <10> captus fuit per\*  
 <11> Iodowicum aphowe <12> deputatum ipsius <13> Elizabethe palacij <14> predicti pro  
 suspicionem <15> felonie ad suggestionem <16> cuiusdam Iohannis <17> Powle Hec est <18> causa  
 capcionis et <19> detencionis ipsius <20> Iohannis Blakburn' <21> in prisona predicta <22> at-  
 tamen corpus <23> predicti Iohannis Blakburn' <24> coram domino Rege ad <25> diem et  
 locum infra <26> contentos paratum <27> Habebo prout interius <28> michi precipitur.

(vi.)

Midd' <1> ¶ Inquiratur pro domino Rege si Ricardus† ffreman'‡ nuper de Thirly in Comitatu Bed'  
 laborer alias dictus Ricardus ffreman' nuper de london' <2> laborer et Iohannes† Borell'‡  
 nuper de Sandewico in Comitatu Kancie Maryner alias dictus Iohannes Borell' nuper de london'  
 Maryner nono <3> die Octobris Anno regni Regis Ricardi tercij secundo vi et armis videlicet  
 gladiis baculis etc in Thomam lambe apud ffyncheley in Comitatu <4> predicto insultum  
 fecerunt et ipsum verberauerunt vulnerauerunt et Maletractauerunt et vnam bursam nigri Corij  
 precij duorum denariorum ac septem <5> solidos et tres obolos de denariis ipsius Thome in  
 pecunia numerata in eadem bursa contentos adtunc et ibidem inuentos felonice <6> ceperunt  
 et asportauerunt contra pacem Domini Regis predicti etc'

(vii.)

<1> Henricus dei gracia Rex Anglie et ffrancie et Dominus Hibernie Vicecomiti Ebor' salutem  
 Precipimus tibi sicut pluries tibi precepimus quod non omittas propter aliquem libertatem in  
 balliua tua quin <2> dstringas Rogerum Hastynges Armigerum tenentem terrarum Edwardi  
 Hastynges Militis per omnes terras et catalla sua in balliua tua Ita quod nec ipse nec aliquis  
 per ipsum ad ea manum <3> apponat donec aliud a nobis inde habueris preceptum Et quod  
 de exitibus eorundem nobis respondeas Et quod habeas corpus eius coram nobis a die pasche  
 in xv dies vbicumque tunc fuerimus in Anglia <4> ad respondendum nobis de placito debiti  
 Et ad audiendum iudicium suum de pluribus defaltis Et habeas ibi hoc breue Teste I ffyneux'  
 exr§ apud Westmonasterium xxij<sup>o</sup> die Ianuarij anno <5> regni nostri duodecimo  
 Ro xvij etc' per contrarotulamentum de anno xvij<sup>o</sup> Edwardi quarti rotulo xxxj<sup>o</sup>|| Harman'

(viii.)

<1> Henricus dei gracia Rex Anglie et ffrancie et Dominus Hibernie Vicecomiti Oxon'  
 salutem precipimus quod exigi facias Walterum Colyns nuper de Oxonia in Comitatu tuo  
 Inholder' de Comitatu in Comitatum quousque secundum legem et consuetudinem <2> regni  
 nostri Anglie vtlagetur si non comparuerit Et si comparuerit tunc eum capias et eum saluo  
 custodias Ita quod habeas corpus eius coram nobis a die Pasche in vnum Mensem vbicumque  
 tunc <3> fuerimus in Anglia ad respondendum nobis de quibusdam felonijs et transgressionibus  
 vnde indictatus est Et vnde tu ipsi⊕ nobis retornaisti in Octabis sancti Michaelis quod pre-  
 dictus Walterus non est inuentus in balliua tua Et habeas <4> ibi hoc breue Teste I ffyneux'  
 exr§ apud Westmonasterium ix die Octobris Anno regni nostri tercio  
 Ro xxxj etc' per contrarotulamentum de anno xxij<sup>o</sup> H vij rotulo xv<sup>o</sup>|| ffermour

\* Flourish filling up line.

‡ suspensus written above by another hand.

|| The references apparently added by different hands.

† Marescallus written above by another hand.

§ Added by another hand.

⊕ Sic MS.

# PLATE XLII

CHANCERY, MISCELLANEA, 37/9/39 (part)

**HANDS.** An original draft in a rough *Bastard* with strong *Legal* characteristics; to which at least two sets of additions have been made in much rougher writing. Some of this may possibly be the effect only of greater haste and a different pen: thus lines 1 to 4 are probably but not certainly in a different hand from that which wrote lines 5 to 7 and part of 8: and the interlineations and writing of lines 9 to 15 are probably distinct from both.

**MATERIAL.** Paper.

**LETTER FORMS.** The highly current hand of the last few lines should be studied carefully. Note for example the *w* of *owen*' (line 9); the careless *me* of *tyme* and *comme* (line 10: cp. *xiiij* in line 11) and the *f* of *if*' (line 10); the *s* in *seid*' (line 11); the forms of *h* and *h*

abbreviated in *which*' and *holdeth*' (line 12); and *g* abbreviated in *fyndyng*' (line 14). Contrast this with the *g* of *disagre* (line 1) and *disagreyd* (line 6).

**ABBREVIATIONS.** See above. Note the very curious doubled form of Tironian *et* in lines 1 and 2.

**PUNCTUATION.** None.

**LANGUAGE.** English. Erratic spelling—note *maryyd*' in line 5 and mixed use of *u* and *v* medially.

**SPECIAL NOTES.** Apparent **EXPUNCTION** in lines 2 and 3. No single printed transcript can give an idea of this document; which is among the *Stonor Papers* (see Kingsford's edition, No. 87): but the reader should be able, with the help of the footnotes, to reconstruct it if he wishes.

## TRANSCRIPT

<1> the doughters of' the seid' Thomas Stonor as then shall' be his wyf' and the same doughter' at her age of xiiij yeres therto to disagre <2> [werby *struck through*] wherby the same mariage be voide and vndone then the\* seid' Thomas Rokes shall' receyue and have styll' alle the seid' summe of' <3> Clxviiij marc' w'tout repayment of' any parte therof' and\* the seid' C D and ff' shall' [then *struck through*] make to the seid' Thomas Rokes† or to his <4> heires‡ of' all' the seid' landes and tenementz or ell' stand' feffees theryn' to the vse of' § the same I R' and his heires|| and yf' it happen' § <5> any of' the sayd' dowgters so maryyd' to the sayd' [Ier *struck through*] [I *struck through* and T inserted later] R⊕ to lyve til she comme to her age of xv yeres the same mariage not <6> disagreyd and then' to die byfore she comme to here age of xviiij yeres w'touten issue bytwene her and the seyd I\*\* R⊕ beyng' yn lyf' <7> the tyme of her diyng' then' the seyd T' R' or his exec' or administrators of his goodes shall' repaye to the seyd T' S or to <8> his exec' or administrators of' hys goodys iiij<sup>xx</sup>†† and iiij†† marc' at like daies as he shall' reseyye them' the‡‡ seid' summe of Clxx marc' <9> and it is agreed' bytwene the seid' parties that eyther of them' shall' have the kepyng' and reule of [th *struck through*] his owen' child' <10> vnto the tyme the seid' Th' the son' shall' come to his age of §§ and if' it happen' the seid' <11> I S' to die byfore the seid' age of xiiij yeres of' the seid' Th' the son' then' eyther of' the seid' parties shall' <12> have||| x marc' yerely of the seid' xx marc' worth' of land' which' the seid' I S' holdeth' for terme of her lyff' <13> vnto the seid' age of' the seid' Th' the son' of xiiij yeres at which tyme the seid' Th' R'. the fader shall' <14> have to the fyndyng' of his⊕⊕ son' xj marc' vj s' viij d' [ad *struck through*] and the seid' Th' S the residue of the seid' xx marc'\*\*\* to <15> the fyndyng' [of *struck through*] and sustynance of' his seid' doughter

\* to \* bracketed and underlined: apparently an expunction.

† the fader inserted above with caret.

‡ astate inserted above with caret.

§ to § apparently inserted later in a blank space left in the MS.

|| A long passage extending above this and the next two lines is apparently intended to be inserted (there is some appearance of a caret) at this point as follows:—and the same Th' R' the fader shall' pay to the seid' Th' S' or to his exec' or administrators of' his godes [to the mariage of the same *struck out*] CC marc' of money

at like dayes as he shall' reseyye the seid' summe of Clxx marc'.

⊕ the son' inserted above line with caret.

\*\* *struck through* and Th' inserted.

†† *struck through* and lxxxv inserted with caret.

‡‡ from this point to the end appears to have been added later in blank space. §§ blank in MS.

||| toward' the fyndyng' and sustynance of his Child' inserted above with caret.

⊕⊕ seid' inserted above with caret.

\*\*\* something, perhaps by yere, apparently added above line.



## PLATE XLIII

- (i.) and (ii.) COMMON PLEAS, FEET OF FINES (*C.P.* 25 (1)), 202/42,  
Nos. 12 (part) and 59  
(iii.) LISLE PAPERS (*S.P.* 3), 8, f. 83 (part)

**HANDS.** (i.) *Bastard* with *Legal* tendency: (ii.) well-developed large *Legal*. (iii.) Medium pure *Legal*, written by a professional attorney.

**MATERIALS.** (i.) and (ii.) Parchment: (iii.) paper.

**LETTER FORMS.** Nothing abnormal (see Alphabets). In (ii.) the angle in the back of many letters is perhaps a little pronounced. In (i.) the *n* of *in* is carried up to form the dot of *i*.

**ABBREVIATIONS.** Note the long horizontal line of abbreviation carried up from the final letter, a typical legal form, in (ii.) and (iii.); especially in the latter

for the English terminations. (iii.) has the old-fashioned 3 form of *r* as the superior letter: note also *M<sup>a</sup>* for 1000 in line 13.

**LANGUAGE.** (i.) and (ii.) Latin, (iii.) English.

**PUNCTUATION.** Practically nil. Note period mark at end of (ii.).

**DECORATION.** Typical spiral on first *H* of (ii.).

**SPECIAL NOTES.** The *Feet of Fines* are Records of a particular kind of fictitious action used in the conveyance of land\*.

### TRANSCRIPT

(i.)

†

<1> Hec est finalis concordia facta in Curia domini Regis apud Westmonasterium in Octabis <2> sancti Iohannis Baptiste anno regnorum Henrici Regis Anglie et ffrancie septimi a <3> conquestu octauo coram Thoma Bryan' Rogero Touneshend' Willelmo Danuers

(ii.)

†

<1> Hec est finalis concordia facta in Curia domini Regis apud Westmonasterium a die sancti Iohannis Baptiste in quindecim dies <2> anno regnorum Henrici Regis Anglie et ffrancie septimi a conquestu vicesimo tercio coram Roberto Rede Iohanne <3> ffyssher Iohanne Kyngesmyll' et Iohanne Boteler Iusticiis Et postea in Octabis sancti Michaelis anno regnorum <4> eiusdem Regis Henrici vicesimo quarto ibidem concessa et recordata coram eisdem Iusticiis et alijs domini Regis <5> fidelibus tunc ibi presentibus Inter Ricardum Bartilmewe Thomam Coke Iohannem Garat et Hugonem Wykys querentes <6> et Iohannem Grey et Elizabetham vxorem eius deforciantes de quarta parte Manerij de Wanstrowe cum pertinenciis et de <7> quarta parte aduocacionis ecclesie de Wanstrowe vnde placitum conuencionis summonitum fuit inter eos in eadem <8> Curia Scilicet quod predicti Iohannes Grey et Elizabetha recognouerunt predictas quartas partes cum pertinenciis esse Ius ipsius <9> Ricardi Et illas remisit‡ et quietumclamauerunt de ipsis Iohanne Grey et Elizabetha et heredibus ipsius Elizabethhe predictis <10> Ricardo Thome Iohanni Garat et Hugoni et heredibus ipsius Ricardi Imperpetuum Et preterea ijdem Iohannes Grey et Elizabetha <11> concesserunt pro se et heredibus ipsius Elizabethhe quod ipsi Warantizabunt predictis Ricardo Thome Iohanni Garat et Hugoni et <12> heredibus ipsius Ricardi predictas quartas partes cum pertinenciis contra omnes homines Imperpetuum Et pro hac recognicione remissione <13> quietaclamacione Warantizacione fine et concordia ijdem Ricardus Thomas Iohannes Garat et Hugo dederunt predictis <14> Iohanni Grey et Elizabethhe Centum libras sterlingorum///

\* For further detail, see Giuseppi, M. S., *Guide to the...Public Record Office*, 1, p. 248.

† Part of the word CYROgraph' is seen in the indentation.

‡ Sic MS.

(iii.)

<1> Right honorable and my singler good lorde my dewtye Remembred' I hertelly Recomende me vnto yo<sup>r</sup> <2> good' lordschipp' and To my lady yo<sup>r</sup> Wyffe. Trustyng' thatt yo<sup>r</sup> lordschipp' and' My lady be in good' helthe <3> With all yo<sup>r</sup> householde etcetera ytt hath pleased' yo<sup>r</sup> lordschipp' to admytte me with my vncl<sup>e</sup> one of yo<sup>r</sup> <4> atto<sup>r</sup>neys in yo<sup>r</sup> absence as vnworthy. Certefying' yo<sup>r</sup> lordschipp' thatt s' Edward' Saymo<sup>r</sup> hath <5> ben' dyuers Tymes with yo<sup>r</sup> Cowncell' and his/att dyuers Metynges. Concernyng' the bargeyn' of <6> all such landes as he hath bought of yo<sup>r</sup> lordschipp' in Somersett shire. And saith thatt your lordschipp' <7> hath nott kept yo<sup>r</sup> Couenantes. bycause yo<sup>r</sup> lordschipp' hath Entred' into yo<sup>r</sup> landes ageyn'. Wiche ys Contraye <8> to y<sup>r</sup> Couenant and ageynst the lawe. vnto whome maist<sup>r</sup> densell' and maist<sup>r</sup> Mervyn'\* yo<sup>r</sup> Councell' awnswerred' and' <9> said'. thatt yf the lawe where acordyng' as his Cowncell' had seyde' thatt he Whold' nott of hys <10> Worchipp' Take bothe your landes and your Money. seyng' thatt the Meanyng' of the Indenture Whas <11> other wyse. And also thatt he was Bounde to Make yo<sup>r</sup> lordschipp' a leasse ffor Terme of your lyffe of <12> a CXL li' within' a Monethe next aftr the Estate and assur<sup>a</sup>unce Maide acordyng' to the word' of the Indent<sup>r</sup>. <13> Wherfor' he had forfeytt ffyve M<sup>d</sup> Markes. And' maist<sup>r</sup> Saymor' Councell aunswerred'. thatt yo<sup>r</sup> lordschipp' <14> had nott discharged' hitt of all' yncombraunces. Wherefore he hath forfeytt no Bounde nother ys nott <15> Bounde in the lawe to make yo<sup>r</sup> lordschipp' a leasse [.....]†

\* Mervyn' inserted above the line.

† Remainder of line cut off in plate.



## PLATE XLIV

- (i.) KING'S BENCH, CONTROLMENT ROLL (*K.B.* 29), 240, m. 101 (part)  
(ii.) COMMON PLEAS, RECOVERY ROLL (*C.P.* 43), m. 63 d (part)

**HANDS.** (i.) Large, medium and small *Legal*, the small giving later additions: with two insertions in rough sloped *Secretary* (*Italic* style).

(ii.) Large and small *Legal*: probably all by one writer. A pronounced backward slope.

**MATERIALS.** Parchment.

**LETTER FORMS.** Normal *Legal* forms; see Alphabets. Note the old fashioned 3 shape of *r* in an exaggerated form in (i.).

**ABBREVIATIONS.** Normal *Legal* forms (this includes the use of suspensions without abbreviation marks for the names of writs). The marginals *vtl'* and *m'ia* act as pointers. The other marginals in (i.) are probably much-developed forms of the old *est* abbreviation (see PART I., p. 43) indicating a check of the document after it was written. Note in the un-legal

hand seen at the end of (i) the use of colon to abbreviate. Note also the use of *I* without mark for the King's name.

**LANGUAGE.** Latin.

**PUNCTUATION.** The point is used in (i.). Note also in this a curious combination of the ¶ **PARAGRAPH MARK** with a long dash before the words *per Bagam supradictam*.

**SPECIAL NOTES.** The *Controlment Roll*\* (see also above, Plate xli) acts as a summary of proceedings in criminal cases on the *Plea Rolls*, giving minutes of the successive stages in the process. The reference to the *Baga* is to the *Baga de Secretis*, the receptacle of the Indictments. The *Recovery Roll*† is a record of a particular class of fictitious suits used, like the *Fines*, for the conveyance of land.

### TRANSCRIPT

(i.)

Monmoth' ¶ <1> Willelmus‡ Thomas nuper de Trostrey in Comitatu predicto laborer Thomas DD‡  
2  
6  
Morrrys nuper de Bettus neweth' in <2> Comitatu predicto laborer et Willelmus‡ Cadogan'  
nuper de Bettus neweth' predict' in Comitatu predicto yoman' Capiantur <3> octabis  
Michaelis pro quibusdam feloniis et murdris vnde indictati sunt. ¶ per Bagam  
supradictam <4> Ad quem diem exigi facias termino Trinitatis. Et postea Hillarii primo Iacobi Regis  
capias xv Pasche. Et Trinitatis secundo Iacobi Regis capias octabis Michaelis Et Michaelis x Iacobi Regis  
vtl' <5> exigi facias Mense Pasche. Ad quem diem vicecomes retornat quod ad Comitatum suum Monmoth' tentum  
apud Monmoth' in Comitatu predicto octauo die <6> Aprilis Anno xj° Iacobi Regis predicti Willelmus Thomas  
et Willelmus vtlagati sunt per Breuia Pasche xj° Iacobi Regis.

Norff' ¶ <7> Thomas Salter‡ nuper de Barton' Bendishe in Comitatu Norff' Taylo<sup>r</sup> Iohannem§  
2  
6  
Watson'‡ nuper de Barton' Bendishe <8> predict' in Comitatu Norff' generosus et  
Radulfus Mason'‡ nuper de Barton' Bendishe predict' in dicto Comitatu Norff' laborer||  
<9> capiantur octabis Michaelis pro quibusdam feloniis et burglariis vnde indictati sunt  
¶ per Bagam supradictam <10> Ad quem diem exigi facias termino Trinitatis Ad quem diem  
vtl' vicecomes retornat quod ad Comitatum suum tentum apud Castrum Norwici in le Sherehouse <11> ibidem  
xiiij die Iunii Anno regni domini Iacobi nunc Regis Anglie primo predicti predicti§ Thomas Iohannes et  
Radulfus <12> vtlagati sunt per Breuia Trinitatis primo Iacobi Regis.

Norff' ¶ <13> Recordum vtlagarie Willelmi Mason' nuper de Barton' Bendishe in Comitatu  
2  
6  
Norff' laborer pro quibusdam feloniis et burglariis <14> vnde indictatus est. ¶ per  
Bagam supradictam.

Norff' ¶ <15> Venire facias octabis Michaelis Carolum⊕ Wynlowe de Coston'⊕ in Comitatu predicto

\* For further details see Giuseppi, M. S., *Guide to the ...Public Record Office*, I, p. 226.

† *Ibid.* p. 254.

‡ vtl[agatur] inserted afterwards above this name.

§ *Sic MS.*

|| A flourish filling up line.

⊕ to ⊕ These words expunged by an under-line, and the words ponit se pasch: ij<sup>do</sup> Iacobi Regis added above in a non-legal hand.

husbandman' et Robertum Bayes\* nuper de Coston' predict' in Comitatu <16> predicto husbandman'. responsuros Regine de quibusdam transgressionibus et contemptibus contra formam statuti de ingressionibus manuforti† <17> factis‡ editi vnde indictati sunt ¶ per Bagam supradictam. Ad quem diem capias xv Pasche. Ad quem diem loquela <18> predicta remansit sine die eo quod etcetera Ideo venire facias Termino Trinitatis Ad quem diem capias octabis Michaelis Ad quem diem exigi facias Mense Pasche Ad <19> quem diem vicecomes retornat quod ad Comitatum suum tentum apud Castrum Norwici in le Sherehouse ibidem xvj<sup>o</sup> die Aprilis Anno secundo Iacobi Regis predictus Robertus <20> vtlagatus est per Breuia Pasche secundo Iacobi Regis <21> non§ pross: Pasch: iij<sup>cio</sup> Iacobi Regis pro omnibus. et cetera§

## (ii.)

<1> Et predictus Daud' tenens per Warantizacionem suam defendit ius suum quando et cetera Et dicit quod predictus Hugo non disseisiuit <2> prefatum Willelmum Colcole et Iohannem de tenementis predictis cum pertinenciis prout ijdem Willelmus et Iohannes per breue et narracionem <3> sua predicta superius supponunt Et de hoc ponit se super patriam etcetera  
<4> Et predicti Willelmus Colcole et Iohannes petunt licenciam inde interloquendi Et habent etcetera Et postea ijdem Willelmus et <5> Iohannes reueniunt hic in Curia isto eodem Termino in proprijs personis suis Et predictus Daud' licet solempniter <6> exactus non reuenit set in contemptu Curie recessit et defaltam facit Ideo consideratum est quod predicti Willelmus Colcole <7> et Iohannes recuperent seisinam suam versus prefatum Willelmum Bramsett alias Bramthwayte de tenementis <8> predictis cum pertinenciis Et quod idem Willelmus habeat de terra predictorum Willelmi Malyuerer et Elianore ad <9> valenciam etcetera Et quod ijdem Willelmus et Elianora vltius habeant de terra predicti Daud' ad valenciam etcetera <10> Et idem Daud' in misericordia etcetera Et super hoc predicti Willelmus Colcole et Iohannes petunt breue domine Regine Vicecomiti Comitatus predicti dirigendum de habere faciendo <11> eis plenariam seisinam de tenementis predictis cum pertinenciis Et eis conceditur retornabile hic a die Pasche in quinque septimanas etcetera ad quem <12> diem hic veniunt predicti Willelmus Colcole et Iohannes in proprijs personis suis Et vicecomes videlicet Thomas Wentworth armiger modo mandat quod ipse <13> virtute breuis illius sibi directi tricesimo die Aprilis vltimo preterito habere fecit prefatis Willelmo Colcole et Iohanni plenariam seisinam de <14> tenementis predictis cum pertinenciis prout per breue illud sibi preceptum fuit etcetera

\* vtl[agatur] inserted afterwards above this name.

† Sic MS.

‡ Inserted above line with caret.

§ to § added in non-legal hand above the first line of the next entry.



# INDEX

This Index includes the Subjects mentioned in Part I and the names of Persons and Places which appear in the Transcripts in Part II. The Notes in Part II have not as a rule been indexed because they are sufficiently treated by means of references in Part I. To the names of Authors an angle bracket < is prefixed; to the names of Scriveners the letter s; the names of Handwritings are given in *Italic*.

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